The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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OFFICE, 49 EAST TWENTY-THIRD ST.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE Association met again in convention at Steinway Hall, on Thursday morning, May 13th, the President, Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, in the chair.

Mrs. Lucy Stone read letters to the convention from John Stuart Mill, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Lynn Mass., and others.

James W. Stillman, a member of the Rhode Island Legislature, was then introduced. He said he could not hold his peace while he saw the burdens under which the women of this country were laboring. John Stewart Mill said that there were three steps through which every reform had to pass; the first was ridicule, the second argument, and the third adoption. If he had not greatly mistaken, this question had passed through the first stage, and had come to the second. The time was now passed away for ridicule and contempt: the question is demanding attention, and, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down.

Mrs. Livermore said that they had delegations from the west, and she did not want them to go home and say that they had not been heard because they had not a chance. In Chicago, when they had a convention, the newspapers gave up all their editions for three days and gave them correct reports. But here, judging from the papers that morning, they were thought of no account. Then, too, they were reported to have said what they did not say.

The President—That is rather severe upon our New York reporters. They are doing their best. (Great applause.)

Mrs. Rose—If those who live in Chicago are best, who made them so, or made Chicago what it was? The experience of the child is derived from the parent. What made Chicago but the City of New York? (Great applaus.)

Mrs. Livermore—We illustrate the truth of Dr. Watt's hymn which says that "we are grown wiser than our teachers, and better know the Lord." (Great laughter.)

Dr. Mercy B. Jackson recounted the difficulties that had to be met in gaining admission to our colleges for young ladies, and proceeded to argue that if the government depends upon the consent of the governed, woman should not be subject to any laws which she had not a hand in enacting. Women should not be deprived of the trial by a jury of her peers. This freest and best government on the face of the earth is yet open to the objection that a portion of its inhabitants are subject to partial enactments.

Fred. Douglass said that as there is a most important question submitted to the American people, he wanted to have a vote upon it from that audience. He then read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the American Equal Rights Association, in loyalty to its comprehensive demands for the political equality of all American citizens, without distinction of race or sex, hails the extension of suffrage to any class heretofore disfranchised, as a cheering part of the triumph of our whole idea.

Resolved, therefore, That we gratefully welcome the pending fifteenth amendment, prohibiting distranchisement on account of race, and earnestly solicit the State Legislatures to pass it without delay.

Resolved, furthermore, That in view of this promised and speedy culmination of one-half of our demands, we are stimulated to redouble our energy to secure the further amendment guaranteeing the same sacred rights without limitation to sex.

Resolved, That until the constitution shall know neither black nor white, neither male nor female, but only the equal rights of all classes, we renew our solemn indictment against that instrument as defective, unworthy, and an oppressive charter for the self-government of a free people. (Applause and hisses.)

A Lady—I move that these resolutions be laid upon the table for future consideration.

The President—Of course. You see these resolutions require discussion; therefore, they had better be laid upon the table for future consideration.

Mr. Burleigh—I do not think that they should be laid upon the table, because they are not before the meeting. To lay them upon the table will make it necessary to have a vote to bring them before the meeting.

No action being taken on the above resolutions,

The Rev. Gilbert Haven, editor of *Zion's Herald*, was introduced. He said: Ladies and gentlemen—As I believe that is the way to address you, or shall I merge you into one and call you fellow-citizens ——

Miss Anthony—Let me tell you how to say it. It is perfectly right for a gentleman to say "ladies and gentlemen," but a lady should say, "gentlemen and ladies." (Great applause.) You mention your friend's name first before you do your own. (Applause.) I always feel like rebuking any lady who says, "ladies and gentlemen." It is a lack of good manners to say so. (Laughter and great applause.)

Mr. Haven (continuing)—I thank the lady for the rule she has laid down. Now, Mr. Beecher has said that a minister is composed of the worst part of man and woman, and there are wealthy men who say that the pulpit should be closed against the introduction of politics, but I am glad this sentiment is not a rule; I rejoice that the country has emancipated the ministry so that a minister can speak politics. Now, I go further than saying that it is the mere right of the women to achieve their end—I say it is an obligation imposed upon the American people to grant their views to this large and influential class of the commonwealth. The legislation of the country concerns the woman as much as the man. Is not the wife as much interested in the preservation of property as her husband? Another reason is, that the purity of politics depends upon the admission of woman to the franchise, for without her influence the morality of politics is not to be obtained. (Applause.)

Mrs. Gage, of Onondaga, New York, presented herself as a delegate to the convention from Onondaga, and read the following report passed at the meeting which appointed her to that office:

Resolved, That this convention calls upon the convention to be convened in the city of New York to recommend and favor a system of organization which shall reach every town, village and hamlet in the United States, presenting a plan in detail, which, by its uniformity, shall render it easy for the whole people to co-operate in the reform.

Mr. Schienhoeff moved a resolution, the purport of which was that the convention should recommend and sanction the formation of co-operative societies as the means of securing to working women just compensation for their labors and the protection and help which they so much need.

This resolution was strongly opposed by Mrs. Livermore and others, on the ground that the question of labor and capital was not within the province of the convention. They thought the whole subject was a separate one, and a very extensive one, and ought to be left to another convention. Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and others took a different view, contending that any proposition for the amelioration of the condition of working-women was peculiarly appropriate to be discussed by the convention.

Mrs. Dr. L. S. Batchelder, a delegate appointed by the Boston Working Women's Association, said that she represented ten thousand working women of New England, and they had instructed her, as their representative, to introduce a resolution looking to the amelioration of the condition of the working women. All the talk here, so far, has been in favor of the ballot and in the interest of the heiress. She was in favor of inserting a resolution in the series which would look to the interest of the poor working-girl, that she might be enabled to earn her daily bread without resorting to the last means of obtaining it. She then began to read a series of resolutions passed at the recent New England Working women's Convention in Boston, and which were to the effect that industrial schools, instead of alms-houses, should be built, and that the talents of women should be so far recognized that they be accorded the same compensation for their labor that is given to men.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—After some remarks by Lilie Peckham, of Milwaukee, Senator Wilson was called upon, and spoke as follows:

This is a rather new place for me to stand in, and yet I am very glad to say that I have no new views in regard to this question. I learned, fifteen or twenty years ago, something about this reform in its earliest days, when the excellent people who have labored so long with so much earnestness and fidelity first launched it before the country. I never knew the time in the last fifteen or twenty years that I was not ready to give my wife the right to vote, if she wanted to. I believe in the Declaration of Independence in its full scope and meaning, believing it was born of Christianity, that it came from the teachings of the New Testament; and I am willing to trust the New Testament and the Declaration of Independence anywhere on God's earth, and to adopt their doctrine in the fullest and broadest manner. I do not know that all the good in the world be accomplished when the women of the United States will have the right to vote. But that is sure to come. Truth is truth, and will stand.

Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, in a stirring address, referred to the assertion of the Rev. Mr. Haven, that the seeds of the Woman's Rights reform were sown in Massachusetts, and proceeded to disprove it. Thirty-two years ago she went round in New York city with petitions to the legislature to obtain for married women the right to hold property in their own names. She only got five names the first year, but she and others persevered for eleven years, and finally succeeded. Who, asked Mrs. Rose, was the first to call a national convention of women, New York or Massachusetts? (Applause.) I like to have justice done and honor given where it is due.

Mrs. Sarah F. Norton, of the New York Working Woman's Association, referring to the former attempt to exclude the discussion of the relations of capital and labor in the convention, argued that the question was an appropriate one in any Woman's Rights Convention, and proposed that some member of the New York Working Women's Association be heard on that point.

Mrs. Eleanor Kirk accordingly described the beginning, progress and operations of the association. She also replied to the recent criticism of the *World* upon the semi-literary, semi-Woman's Rights nature of the meetings of their associations, and contended that they had a perfect right to debate and read essays, and do anything else that other women might do.

Mrs. Mary F. Davis—This lady proceeded to speak in behalf of the rights of her own sex, but she expressed her willingness to see the negro guaranteed in his rights, and would wait if only one question could be disposed of. But she thought they would not have to wait long, for the Hon. Mr. Wilson had assured them that their side is to be strongly and successfully advocated. Every step in the great cause of human rights helps the next one for-

ward. In 1848 Mrs. Stanton called the first Convention at Seneca Falls.

Miss Anthony—And Lucretia Mott.

Mrs. Davis—Yes; and Lucretia Mott, and I love to speak of them in association. Mrs. Rose has alluded to the primary steps she took, and there were Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mrs. Blackwell, and Paulina Davis, and a great galaxy who paved the way; and we stand here to proclaim the immortal principle of woman's freedom. (Great applause.) The lady then referred to the great work that lay before them in lifting out of misery and wretchedness the numbers of women in this city and elsewhere, who were experiencing all the fullness of human degradation. Even when they had finished their present work, a large field was still before them in the elevation of their sex. (Applause.)

Miss Anthony said, that before they proceeded any further, she would like to hear from Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, who had lately came from the South. (Applause.)

Mrs. Paulina W. Davis then came forward. She would not be altogether satisfied to have the Fifteenth Amendment passed without the Sixteenth, for they would have a race of tyrants raised above them in the South, and the black women of that country would also receive worse treatment than if the Amendment was not passed. Take any class that have been slaves and you will find that they are the worst when free, and become the hardest masters. The colored women of the South say they do not want to get married to the negro, as their husbands can take their children away from them, and also appropriate their earnings. The black women are more intelligent than the men, because they have learned something from their mistresses. She then related a story of how the black men whip and abuse their wives in the South. One of her sister's servants whipped his wife every Sunday regularly. (Laughter.) She thought that sort of men should not have the making of the laws for the governance of the women throughout the land. (Applause.)

Mr. Douglass then stepped forward and was received with great applause. He said that all disinterested spectators would concede that this Equal Rights meeting had been pre-eminently a Woman's Rights meeting. (Applause.) They had just heard an argument with which he could not agree—that the suffrage to the black men should be postponed to that of the women. Here is a woman who, since the day that the snake talked with our mother in the garden—from that day to this, I say, she has been divested of political rights. What may we not expect, according to that reasoning, when woman, when—— (Loud laughter and applause.)

Miss Anthony hereupon rose from her seat and made towards Mr. Douglass, saying something which was drowned in the applause and laughter which continued. Mr. Douglass was heard to say, however, "No, no, Susan," which again set the audience off in another audible smile, and Miss Anthony took her seat.

When silence was somewhat restored, Mr. Douglass continued, saying "You see when women get into trouble how they act. Miss Anthony comes to the rescue—(laughter)—and these good people have not yet learned to hear people through. (Laughter.) When anything goes against them they are up right away. Now I do not believe the story that the slaves who are enfranchised become the worst of tyrants. (A Voice—"Neither do I." Applause.) I know how this theory came about. When a slave was made a driver he made himself more officious than the white driver, so that his master might not suspect that he was favoring those under him. But we do not intend to have any master over us. (Applause.)

The President then took the floor and argued that not another man should be enfranchised until enough women are admitted to the polls to outweigh those who have the franchise. (Applause.) She did not believe in allowing ignorant negroes and ignorant and debased Chinamen to make laws for her to obey. (Applause.)

Mrs. Harper (colored) asked Mr. Blackwell to read the fifth resolution of the series he submitted, and contended that that covered the whole ground of the resolutions of Mr. Douglass.

Miss Anthony—Then I move that that resolution be reconsidered.

Mr. Douglass—Oh! no; you cannot do that while the floor is occupied.

Mrs. Harper then proceeded with her remarks, saying that when it was a question of race she let the lesser question of sex go. But the white women all go for sex, letting race occupy a minor position. She liked the idea of working-women, but she would like to know if it was broad enough to take colored women?

Miss Anthony and several others—Yes, yes.

Mrs. Harper said that when she was at Boston, there were sixty women who rose up and left work because one colored women went to gain a livelihood in their midst. (Applause.) If the nation could only handle one question, she would not have the black women put a single straw in the way if only the race of men could obtain what they wanted. (Great applause.)

Mr. C. C. Burleigh attempted to speak, but was received with some disapprobation by the audience, and confusion ensued.

Miss Anthony said she protested against the Fifteenth Amendment because it *wasn't Equal Right*. It put two million more men in position of tyrants over two millions women who had until now been the *equals* of the men at their side.

Mr. Burleigh again essayed to speak. The confusion was so great that what could be reported only were the words: "This fifteenth—does not—any person—bar against the enfranchisement of women."

Mrs. Stone now appealed for order, and her first appearance caused the most respectful silence, as did the words of every one of the ladies who addressed them. Mr. Burleigh again ventured, but with no better result, and Miss Anthony made another appeal to hear him. He tried again to get a word in, but was once more unsuccessful.

Mrs. Livermore then came in front, and said that she would have a pretty story to tell her Chicago friends. She then proceeded to speak a few words in advocacy of the resolutions of Mr. Douglass.

A motion was then made to lay the resolutions upon the table, and Mr. Blackwell moved the "previous question."

Miss Anthony hoped that this, the first attempt at gagging discussion would not be countenanced. (Applause.) She then made a strong appeal for silence to hear Mr. Burleigh.

Sufficient silence was then obtained for that gentleman to say that he had finished all he had to say; but he was determined that they should hear the last word in silence. (Hisses, laughter, and yells.) He now took his seat.

The motion to lay upon the table for discussion in the evening was then carried, and the session adjourned until the evening.

Evening Session.—The Association met in the large hall of the Cooper Institute. A letter from Jules Favre, the celebrated French advocate and *literateur*, was read, after which addresses were delivered by Madame Anneke, of Milwaukee (in German), and by Madame d'Hericourt (in French). Both of these ladies are of revolutionary tendencies, and left their native countries because they had rendered themselves obnoxious by a too free expression of their political opinions. Madame d'Hericourt proposed in her address a league of women in all countries in the world, whose object should be the triumph of right principles everywhere. On motion of Mrs. Livermore, the convention adopted and recommended Madame d'Hericourt's scheme.

After a short speech by the Rev. J. F. Lovey, of Concord, and some singing by the Hutchinsons, who were present,

Ernestine L. Rose made an address, at the close of which she moved that the name of the Society should be changed from the "American Equal Rights Association" to the "National Woman's Suffrage Association."

Lucy Stone said she must oppose this till the colored man gained the right to vote. If they changed the name of the Association for such a reason as it was evident it was proposed, they would lose the confidence of the public. I hope you will not do it.

A gentleman—Mrs. President, I hope you will do it; I move that the name of the association be changed to the "Universal Franchise Association."

Mrs. Stanton—The question is already settled by our constitution, which requires a month's notice previous to the annual meeting before any change of name will be made. We will now have a song. (Laughter.)

Mr. Blackwell said that he had just returned from the south, and that he had learned to think that the test oath required of white men at the south who had been rebels must be abolished before the vote be given to the negro. He was willing that the negro should have the suffrage, but not under such conditions that he should rule the South.

At the allusion of Mr. Blackwell to the test oath the audience hissed loudly the hint at abolishing that oath.

Mrs. Stanton said—Gentlemen and Ladies, I take this as quite an insult to me. It is as if you were invited to dine with me and you turned up your nose at everything that was set on the table.

Mrs. Livermore, the editress of the *Agitator*, was then introduced. She said—It certainly requires a great amount of nerve to talk before you, for you have such a frankness of expressing yourselves that I am afraid of you. (Laughter and applause.) If you do not like the dish, you turn up your nose at it and say "take it away, take it away." (Laughter.) Now, I was brought up in the west, and it is a good place to get rid of any superfluous modesty, but I am afraid of you. (Applause.) It seems that you are more willing to be pleased than to hear what we women have to say, but it appears to me that the men of the community cannot do less than to hear what we have got to say. (Applause.) Throughout the day the men who have attended our convention have been turbulent. (Applause.) I say it frankly, that the behavior of the majority of men has not been respectful. (Applause.) We felt as if we were talking to the side of a house. (Laughter.) The lady then proceeded to give a pathetic narration of the sorrow she had seen among the depraved and destitute of our great cities, and said that the work of the coming year would be to get up a monster petition of a million of names asking the Legislature for Suffrage. (Applause.)

After a song from the Hutchinson family, who had come from Chicago to entertain the audiences of the Association, the meeting adjourned.

MASS MEETING AT THE BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

The friends of Woman's Suffrage, including most of the delegates to the Equal Rights Association, which had been meeting in New York, besides many advocates of Woman's Suffrage, not members of the American Equal Rights Association, met in mass meeting in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, Friday morning, May 14th, at 10 o'clock; about five hundred people were present. Mr. Edwin A. Studwell called the meeting to order and nominated Mrs. Anna C. Field for President. This lady was unanimously elected, and took the chair. Mrs. Celia Burleigh was elected Secretary. On motion of Mr. Studwell, the following committee was appointed to draft resolutions: E. S. Bunker, Mrs. E. R. Tilton, Mrs. A. Field, the Rev. J. W. Chadwick, J. J. Merritt, and Mrs. E. A. Studwell.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was then introduced. She spoke as follows:

I have just come over here from New York, hoping to-day to listen to others, and am rather surprised to find myself rushed on the platform to make the first speech, for you all know that to make a speech in cold blood is a very hard thing. However, I am very happy always to say my best word for this grand work of Woman's Enfranchisement. I feel that now, when the Fifteenth Amendment is almost ready to be adopted by this nation, it behooves every man and woman to say that woman shall no longer be ground under the iron heel of serfdom, and that while all are rejoicing in the Fifteenth Amendment for the black man, it is a degradation for the women of this nation still to be under an old-time despotism. (Applause.) However, we may look upon that amendment as practically settled, for it will be adopted, and then the only disfranchised class in America will be the women, and I hope the republican party will crown their grand work by enfranchising women. (Applause.) Napoleon once said to Madame De Stael: "Why will you women meddle with politics?" to which she replied: "Sire, if you will hang us we must know the reason why." (Applause.) That is what we are doing to-day, trying to find out the reason why women are deprived of their right in the world of labor, literature, art and science, and in many of the states a woman has no rights of property. Such is the state of things to-day in Washington, where we have heard such grand talk of the universal liberty of the republic. A grand idea of liberty was realized when the Declaration of Independence went forth; it moved the globe to its centre, and was music in the ears of the countless exiles of the Old World, and we should now realize in this republic that grand idea of universal liberty promulgated nearly a century ago.

Mrs. Lucy Stone addressed the audience briefly, congratulating the ladies upon the large number of men who had become converted in their cause. Mr. Langdon, of Vermont, followed with a brief speech.

Mrs. Burleigh read a letter from the Hon. Geo. Wm. Curtis, indorsing very decidedly the doctrine of Woman Suffrage.

The Rev. Mrs. Phoebe Hanaford then delivered

most eloquent and touching address on the moral influence that the participation of women—mothers and wives—in government would have upon the world. Every true mother was with this movement. But there was another name that our children sing about, and there was no other name so sweet on earth or in heaven, the name of Christ the Saviour. She wished this Woman's Suffrage Convention would place upon its banner the name of Jesus Christ. The golden rule given by Jesus Christ, if carried out, would give equal rights to all, and there would be no distinction between color, race or sex.

The Rev. Mr. Haven, of Massachusetts, was next introduced. He said there were three reforms needed—one was the abolition of social distinctions, another was the abolition of the rum-shop, and the third was giving the ballot to women. Of the three, which should take the precedence? It was hard to say that the woman did not lead them all. He had claimed, yesterday, that the Woman's Rights movement originated in Massachusetts. He was mistaken. The great idea of woman's equality was taught by Christ; and still further back, when man and woman were created and placed in Paradise, they were placed there on an equality. God gave man no supremacy over woman there. Not until sin had entered the world; not until after the fall was it said, "He shall rule over her." If we were to be controlled by this curse of sin, we should still adhere to the old law giving the supremacy to the first-born son, for that was declared at the same time between Cain and Abel. Sin degraded, but grace emancipated. On the day of Pentecost, the spirit fell upon the man and woman alike. St. Paul declared this great doctrine of Woman's Rights when he said, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one in Christ. If a woman prophecy, let her prophecy with the head covered," but he did not say women shall not prophecy. The doctrines of Woman's Rights originated with God himself. There were many reasons why we should give the ballot to women. It would elevate woman herself, as well as confer incalculable benefits on both sexes.

The meeting adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The meeting assembled again at 2 o'clock. Mrs. Livermore of Chicago was the first speaker. She dwelt more particularly upon the exclusion of women from the jury-box.

Mrs. Lucy Stone had a letter from an Old School Presbyterian minister in Kansas, earnestly indorsing the Woman's Rights movement. She was always glad to speak of the readiness with which the clergy adopted the principles of equal rights between the sexes.

The Rev. J. W. Chadwick of Brooklyn made a brief speech, warmly advocating the cause of Woman Suffrage.

Miss Peckham of Milwaukee, Wis., next addressed the meeting.

The President announced that Lucretia Mott was on the stand. The audience called loudly for her, and would not be satisfied until she was compelled to come forward, when she was greated with great applause. This venerable pioneer of Woman's Rights expressed her congratulations for the great progress of the cause to which she had devoted so much of her life.

EVENING SESSION.—In the evening the building was crowded throughout, including stage and both galleries, with the very best material, intellectually, that Brooklyn can afford. The chairman called the meeting to order. The Committee on Organization reported for President, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, and for Vice-Presidents, about 20 names. Mrs. Norton read an extract from a letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, encouraging the sisterhood to push forward. Miss Olive Logan was next introduced—spoke in her own theatrical style. She dealt numerous severe blows at the other sex. Her many sarcastic and humorous hits elicited great applause. A resolution declaring woman entitled to vote and hold office under all conditions which it is proper to impose on man, was read and adopted, after which Lucretia Mott, in marked contrast to the preceding speaker, in dress and manner, stepped forward and removed her bonnet. Mrs. Mott is now far beyond her threescore and ten years, but her intellect and her memory remain as clear as in the prime of life! She spoke as follows:

It is very little I have to say to you, both from inability to make my voice heard as well as from the failure of my strength to speak. But I feel comforted in the assurance that there are many here who will not suffer you to go away without being properly instructed. I must dissent from part of the address which you have just heard—with the idea that it ill becomes us to answer all these flings by newspaper articles that are presented to us, by which we are ridiculed and satirized in various ways. When we were in Washington, some time since, we had an excellent convention. Some objection was made to the peculiar costumes in which some of the members chose to appear on the platform. But it was not the business of that convention to take into consideration any such objections. I do not believe that the success of this cause is dependent upon any such considerations. I believe in woman having such self-respect and such dignity of demeanor everywhere as shall commend her speeches to the acceptanse of all right-thinking persons. I desire much that this cause be advocated on the true ground. We must understand the great needs of the human race; we must have such clear insight as to be prepared to speak more from the inspiration of the time—with dignity rather than with levity. I would not be understood as wishing to bind any one to such serious and prosy addresses that shall not occasionally bring forth the mirthfulness of the congregation, to a certain extent; but I do desire that we may all regulate ourselves, and direct our meetings in such a way as not to bring reproach upon us. An occurrence which happened this afternoon, I think, is calculated to throw some ridicule upon this movement. In taking up the *Herald*, a paper I do not often see, I perceive an intent to ridicule this movement; and the *World* is also rather questionable on the subject. But depend upon it the cause is rising so fast, popular sentiment is rising so rapidly that it will not need that we should combat arguments or vituperations of any kind. We need not despair of ultimate success. When I consider what Lucy Stone did when she was at Oberlin College, and the Faculty discouraged her reading the Thesis which she had prepared, and endeavored to persuade her to allow a man to read it, when she felt that it would not be consistent with her ideas of right, and read it herself, then, indeed, I felt there was room for hope and congratulation.

Mrs. Harper, the colored orator and lecturer, spoke next on matters concerning her own race. She was frequently and enthusiastically cheered.

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was next introduced. As usual, his appearance on the stage called forth repeated rounds of applause. He spoke as follows: I have only heard the closing part of the speech of the speaker who preceded me; but I heard it with great emotion. To me it was the voice of history; it was the voice of prophecy as well. I can remember when, in this goodly city—as much advanced as any city in the North in the principles of justice—it was found to be impossible that a colored woman should enter even the sanctuary on the Lord's day, and take her seat by the side of her white sisters. I have seen it impossible for men as well dressed, as gentlemanly, and of as much worth intellectually and morally as any white man you know, to enter the white line of omnibuses at the Fulton Ferry. Twenty years have passed away. For five years God Almighty deluged this country with war, and yet here, to-night, I see before me as goodly an audience as ever I saw—an audience of unquestioned refinement and prejudices—(applause)—and not only have you permitted this sister to sit among you unrebuked, without hiss or comment—on the contrary eliciting your hearty applause and sympathy; she was your instructress; she mastered you and you cheered her. Thank God that the world has turned clear around. And she is but another illustration of a truth of which there are so many illustrations, namely, that this is a practical people; that this body is of the earth earthy, and that the thing of worth, which is of God, is the soul. Heretofore, men have sworn by the golden candlestick; I swear by the candle which is inside—the soul. We are coming to that better day in which we shall accept God's gift of the soul as inclusive of all other things whether black or white. When God made man he knew better than you or I why he made man black or white. Do you suppose God, in creating a poet, and filling his mind with enthusiasm and power to utter the right, didn't know what he was about? Do you suppose that God, in creating the black and the white man, did not know what he was doing? I lay down the fundamental doctrine that wherever man has a specialty, whether of genius or of education, he has a right to take advantage of all the circumstances attending him. A ship has a right to as much water as will float her. Now, in relation to this Woman's Rights movement, I am opposed to coercion. If a woman says, "Oh, I want to be a happy mother and wife: I have all the rights I want; I do not want these things;" I say, very well. We do not preach the doctrine of coercive rights. You shall have perfect liberty to stay at home. All we ask is that women shall follow their natures. Women may, in time, hope to rival Marshal Rynders in his management of a political meeting, and in their angry interchange of sentiments. Our example may bring women to our level. Of all heresies it seems to me there never was one so absurd as that heresy which supposes that woman is not fit for the pecular duties for which she is called. She was fit to whip you and me; to teach us the best things, we know; fit to take care o home; and let me tell you that the woman who is fit to take care of home is fit to stand in the gateway of heaven itself. Nothing is more sacred between this and the heavenly rest than the Christian household. It is said that woman is not fit to hold office. Take the Presidents of the United States, as they run for the last eight or ten years, and I would rather take my chances among the average of women. A President of these United States requires merely common sense and honesty. Men are not more honest than women, not more sincere nor more capable. I come back again to the word soul. That is the sole value in this world No matter what the handle of a knife may be, whether horn, or silver, or ivory, the blade after all is the thing. You may make a man rich, but if his children are boobies they are no better than a poor man's children—not so good in fact. In conclusion, Mr. Beecher said that all that was asked by those who were in favor of Equal Rights, was that men and women should have the right to go abroad or stay at home as they pleased; to read, to write, to work. We give you plenary liberty: you must give us the same.

Music by the Huchinsons was now introduced by way of recreation and was received with applause.

The President introduced Mr. Frederick Douglass. He made only a few remarks, insisting that Miss Cozzins could entertain the audience much better.

Miss Phoebe Cozzins was then introduced. She made a brief but beautiful address. Mr. Douglass next spoke, and Lucy Stone closed the exercises with a most effective appeal for Woman's enfranchisement.

LETTERS TO THE CONVENTION.

FROM REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

SYRACUSE, May 11, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS: My engagements this week are such that I cannot attend the Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association. But I trust I need not assure you, that my interest in your cause is unabated.

I consider the enfranchisement of woman the most radical reform, in the condition of society in our country, ever yet proposed. If accomplished (as it must be), it will in due time give the ascendancy to the humaner part of man's nature, in the government of cities, states and the nation. And this humaner part of man, though less authoritative, is more influential; though less ostentatious of force, is really more powerful in controlling and subduing the evil, at the same time that it is more encouraging and helpful to the good in men. It tends continually to the establishment of *self-government*, which alone can be omnipresent and pervasive.

It were no more absurd to insist, that any individual can stand as firmly upon one foot as upon two; or that he can direct and control his conduct as well by his judgment without his conscience as by the influence of both—no more absurd than it is to assume, that the city, the state, the nation can be as well governed by one-half of the people, as by the whole of them—by the masculine properties of man, better than by the masculine and feminine co-operating.

There has lately been, in our city and vicinity, quite a revival of interest in this great subject. On the 19th of January last, Mrs. Lucy stone gave a remarkably able lecture on "Woman's Rights" to a very large audience in our Wieting Hall. Immediately there was a movement among us on that behalf, and before the expiration of three weeks, there was a petition for the enfranchisement of women sent to Congress, signed by more than 1,700 adult persons of Syracuse.

Then followed a succession of ten weekly meetings in our City Hall, at which the subject was publicly discussed with earnestness by speakers on both sides, before always large and sometimes crowded audiences.

We hope to have another series of public meetings on the same subject next fall; and if Mrs Stanton will be our champion for two or three evenings, and Mrs. Stone for two or three evenings more, we will promise them two or three able, gentlemanly opponents who are sincere in thinking our doctrines erroneous—and who will give them an opportunity fully to vindicate those doctrines in every particular

Very sincerely your friend, SAMUEL J. MAY.

To the President, Secretary and members of the American Equal Rights Associaton.

FROM JULES FAVRE.

MADAM STANTON: I am deeply touched by the honorable invitation, which you were so kind as to send me, and, but for the distance that separates our two worlds, I would consider it a particular honor to be present at

the convention. Indeed it would have been a glorious good fortune to greet that sacred country of liberty, to give my tribute of sympathy and admiration to its brave citizens and its noble and charming women. Prevented by work and duties too imperious to leave, I shall, nevertheless, be with you in spirit. My heart is united with yours to call forth with my warmest wishes and efforts a social renovation giving to women their dignity and real moral power in freeing them from the yoke which, by institutions and prejudices, unfortunately still lies on them. The Americans have all means of liberty on their side for the accomplishment of their grand work, whilst we yet battle; still our looks fasten on your shore, we have the certainty to succeed and to help you in the imperishable cause of human emancipation.

Will you, dear madam, accept for yourself and your countrywomen the expression of my feelings of the deepest and most respectful sympathy and consideration.

JULES FAVRE.

Paris, April 28, 1869.

FROM JEANNIE JUNE CROLY.

MY DEAR MRS. STANTON: In reply to your kind note of invitation to address the Equal Rights Association, which is to convene in this city on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week, I beg to state, that, in the first place, I feel as if it would be an impertinence in me to place myself beside the pioneers of Equal Rights, those brave women who worked for women when there was all to lose, and nothing to gain by it, but who, in spite of obstacles, cut down the forests, and cleared the way for us who came later.

In the second place, my mission has never yet seemed to me to lie in that direction. The vote does not appear to me the panacea for all the ills to which women are subject. I value it highly, as a citizen's privilege, more highly as an educational influence. I shall fall down on my knees and thank God on that day when the franchise proclaims the woman a citizen, the woman's responsibility as equal to that of man. But at present I do not feel like asking for it, because I do not recognize any one's right to withhold it. And I willingly leave the cause in other hands while I use my small endeavors to awaken in woman the spirit of independence, of self-reliance, which is essential to a progressive, and efficient womanhood.

The great want of woman at present is money—money for their personal wants, money to carry out their plans. I propose that they shall earn it, that they shall learn to consider it as honorable to work for money, as for board and clothes. I demand for them equal pay for equal work. I demand from men towards women, the justice they accord to each other. I demand for the wife who acts as cook, as nursery-maid, or seamstress, or all three, fair wages, or her rightful share in the nett income. I demand that the bearing, and rearing of children, the most exacting of employments, and involving the most terrible risks, shall be the best paid work in the world, and that husbands shall treat their wives with at least as much consideration, and acknowledge them entitled to as much money, as wet-nurses.

It is said that men will refuse to marry if they are obliged to share their incomes with their wives. I think not. At any rate, it is better to have it well understood that women now marry into a condition of the most humiliating dependence, that they erve not only for seven years, but seventy, without acquiring a claim to a dollar of their husbands' money, and that the endowment of worldly goods in the marriage service is a fiction and a fraud.

Women, heretofore, had nothing but themselves, and they are obliged to sell themselves for whatever else they need. Work, and pay for their work, is what they want, I think, even more than they want a vote!

Yours, with the heartiest sympathy, and sincerest respect, JEANNIE JUNE CROLY.

FROM BISHOP SIMPSON.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH ROOMS,
PHILADELPHIA, May 5th, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours, inviting me to be present at the meeting in Brooklyn in behalf of woman's enfranchisement, was received on my return home. I find, however, that it will be impossible for me to be present as ecclesiastical duties call me West at that time.

Believing, as I do, that the ballot in the hands of woman would be so used as to add strength to all our moral enterprises, and especially would be the most successful agency to eradicate intemperance and city vices, I have long desired to see her invested with that power. In an ordinary political canvass I do not see that anything would be gained. The vote would simply be increased without any probability of change; but all moral questions, and on all questions affecting the right of women to engage in any honorable calling to gain a livelihood, the ballot in her hands would be a powerful element. With high regards, yours truly,

M. SIMPSON.

FROM F. R. LEES.

Editors of the Revolution:

A SERIES of pre-engagements have prevented me from attending your public meetings for the advocacy of Equal Rights, without respect of sex, leaving, of course, all questions of a conventional kind to be settled by the laws of good taste, or the national elements of difference which they involve. You are engaged in the advocacy of a great principle, which cannot fail to be established by wise and persistent effort. In England (under the management of Miss Becker and others) we are making headway in the same direction. A bill has been introduced into our Parliament for the protection of the property of married women, and will probably be carried.

In some parts we have canvassed the women as to whether they *desire* the vote, and we find the response to be about 4,000 *ayes* for 250 *nays*. In preparing the late election register, in some places women were put on, and in one judgment of the Revising Barrister, it was justly decided, on an appeal, that a woman, having fulfilled all the duties of a citizen as regards the vote, he saw no legal reason for obstructing its exercise. I am sure that, when women obtain the franchise, they will vote down the grog-shop, and every other influence of domestic and personal degradation.

Yours truly, F. R. LEES.

Madison Avenue, May 14, 1869.

FROM MARIA GOEGG.

To the Convention of the Equal Rights Association:

IT is with sincere regret that I am obliged to *write* rather than *speak* to you, and to content myself with sending you an address when I should so like to be in your midst—to express in person my warm admiration of your noble efforts, and my earnest desires for the speedy realization of your hopes.

The distance between us is too great to permit my reaching you with personal greeting. Imperative duties keep me here, but permit me and my colleagues of the "International Association of Women," to say some words that may strengthen and rivet the link that joins us. I think I see in your imposing reunion, an admirable triumph of the present over the past, and a pledge of happiness for the future—I think I see those generous and enlightened men who combat for, and with, you—I think I see all those women, in whom shines, in all its development, the grace of dignity—I think I see in your midst the intelligent faces of the pioneers in the movement for our sex—and, in view of this picture, an indescribable emotion seizes me! Devoted men! Courageous women! Your sisters in Europe admire and love you!

Your struggle and toil have been great, but you are soon to bear off the most brilliant of all victories—that of a benevolent and truly pacific revolution—of immense power—incommensurable—and accomplished by a purely moral and intellectual combat.

The very fact of this Convention is the glorification of the excellence of your labors.

But, although we admire you, and although we rejoice in the success which an early future promises you, we cannot but turn with sadness to the difficulties which surround us, here in Europe, and to the coldness of woman toward a cause which is her own. With you there is ardor, spirit, enthusiasm, faith in beautiful things, courage to surmount difficulties and reverses; but with us, we meet proof at every step that the Old World is in the bonds of conservatism.

If men begin to comprehend, *for themselves*, the meaning of the word liberty—if they begin to reject, *for themselves*, all that savors of despotism, if they begin to work in common to insure, *to themselves*, individual independence, they deny that *woman* should be under the administration of the same natural laws—they refuse her the exercise of her faculties, in confining her to custom, or in throwing ridicule on what they call "feminine claims." And how astonishing it is to see that the majority of European women, in every country, deny themselves intelligence and moral force! They have been so well trained in slavery that they adore the chains that bind them, and jeer at those who seek their deliverance.

But, even with this general egotism and indifference, it is just and consoling to accept the fact that there is a glorious minority, composed of the most distinguished minds among men and women, working resolutely for the triumph of equal rights for woman—in England, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and even in France, notwithstanding the demoralizing *regime* which there rules. This minority will from day to day gain ground in Europe—when the legislative bodies of our different states shall acknowledge the justice of our cause and shall legally insure its victory.

As, in the last century, the United States of America were the first to proclaim the principle of human rights, and were, by this fact, the precursors of the French Revolution, to which we are indebted for the suppression of so many abuses—so now, as they come up from the recent struggle for the abolition of slavery, are they again called on to give the world an example, in recognizing the rights of women—this other oppressed half of the human species—and thus to become the pioneer, the precursor of all the benefits which this era shall bring to humanity.

It is, then, to you that our hopes turn. You have shown us how to struggle—you will show us how to succeed! You have been the initiators of this movement not only in America, but for the whole world.

May this great thought give you joy and courage!

Accept the salutation of my colleagues, and the assurance of my most sincere regard.

MARIA GOEGG,
President of the Central Committee of the "International Association of Women."

Geneva, Switzerland, April 23, 1869.

FROM REUBEN E. FENTON.

JAMESTOWN, May 5th, 1869.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—*Dear Madam:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind note of the 19th ult., inviting me to be present and speak at the anniversary meeting of the friends of Woman's Suffrage, and suggesting that occasion as favorable to the expression of my views upon the subject.

I appreciate the importance of the question alluded to, and regret that engagements of a personal and private character, before entered into, will deprive me of the opportunity you so kindly suggest.

Very respectfully, R. E. FENTON.

FROM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

SALEM, May 8, 1869.

MY DEAR MRS. STONE: I am very glad to express my cordial approval of the purpose of the meeting which your circular invites me to attend. To state my belief (already, I hope, well known), requires but few words.

That half the population should be excluded from the ballot-box, on no other ground than that of sex, is so utterly at variance with the theory of political self-government, and so manifestly unjust, that I cannot believe such an anomaly will long find a place in American civilization.

The position already achieved by women in every sphere but the political, thoroughly rebukes this exclusion; and there really remains no plausible pretence for it but the "demoralizing influence of political life." And what is this plea but confession that the claim to retain monopoly of the governing power rests upon inability to make a wise or even a decent use of it?

What precise influence Female Suffrage will have upon womanhood or upon manhood, I do not pretend to know; nor can I see that I have any more right to condition it upon my being informed on this point than I have to insist on being warranted by prophetic insight in allowing suffrage to the coming generation of white males.

The prevailing phraseology misleads. It is not a question of "granting," or "allowing" the ballot to woman; of "admitting" her to share it as a right now vested in the hands of men. It is for the actual voting class simply a question of abdicating a false claim; of dropping an exclusive jurisdiction which has not a shadow of foundation in anything but force. The question is not, how many women desire the ballot, nor how few petition for it; not properly a question of numbers at all, but of personality; it is whether the individual claimant does not represent the adult intelligence, responsibility, and personal interest in public legislation, which are admitted qualifications for the exercise of this function. And if every fugitive slave represented the right of millions in bonds, does not every such woman who enters her demand for Suffrage represent the claim of her disfranchised sex?

Most of us can speculate, as we all have a right to do, on woman's special fitness or want of fitness for political life; but the data are for the most part *a-priori*; and however gratifying it might be to the ingenious philosopher to settle this question, his decision must be not only premature, but wholly without authority as a basis for legislation.

We all lack the wisdom of experience on this matter. Nature not only may, but must and will be trusted; and the artificial distinctions which would foreclose her decision cannot hold. Nor can we reach the fair expression of this decision till we dare to invite it.

Why imagine the social and domestic ties are in danger? Is any true function or relation of human life to be protected by making sex a bar to self-government and public service?

What shall be the ultimate form of political self-government, we are as yet in no condition to determine; but certainly it never can be determined, so long as half the race is excluded, without regard to character, intelligence, or capacity, from the right to form a practical judgment and to testify freely therein.

I am respectfully yours, SAMUEL JOHNSON.

FROM L. S. BECKER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, April 5, 1869.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Yours of March 16 has just reached me, and I thank you most heartily for the very kind and flattering invitation it conveys. I wish it were in my power to return you an answer more in accordance with your or my own wishes, but there are many reasons which render it utterly impracticable for me to take a part in the forthcoming convention to which I need hardly say that I wish every success. One insuperable obstacle is the financial one. Our Society has contrived to make a noise in the world, beyond all proportion to our material resources. The scantiness of these, greatly cripple our means of usefulness. I could send up numerously-signed petitions from every large town in England, and have a series of public meetings if only I had the means necessary to collect the names of those favorable to our views, who would willingly sign the petition if it were presented to them. Now, when there is so much to be done in our own country with the funds at our disposal, even if we had the sum necessary to send a representative to the convention, which we have *not*, it would hardly be right to employ it thus, to the neglect of home work, unless it had been specially contributed for the purpose.

But even if that difficulty could be overcome, there is another arising from the *time* of the convention. It occurs in the midst of our Parliamentary session, the season when all our work is in progress. It would not be possible for me to spare the time from my duties here. Up to the time of the prorogation of Parliament, in July or August, I shall be necessarily occupied either in holding lectures and meetings, or in forwarding petitions. I believe, in truth, that the work I can do for you on this side the Atlantic will help the cause more than anything I could accomplish by deserting this field in the hour of action in search of fresh scenes. Whatever real progress is made, either in your country or ours, will immediately react across the ocean. Last year, I thought we were in advance. At present, it seems as if you headed us a little. But I do believe that neither land will allow the other to get far ahead in its grand advance of civilization. I write shortly now, to put an end to all uncertainty about my visit, but I will write you more at length to report our progress.

I have just delivered my Rochdale paper in this place – it was very well received. The wife of the American Consul was present, and I was very glad to meet with some one from your country. The Minister, Mr. Johnson, was here at the same time. His visit, it was feared, might rather interfere with us, but, nevertheless, we had a very good and earnest meeting. I do wish very much I could have been with you next month, and made the personal acquaintance of your noble and earnest thinkers. I will hope that this is but a pleasure deferred—that some day a meeting may be accomplished.

To-morrow I go to meeting among the pit-men—the coal-workers of this district. Whatever the supercilious fashionables of society may say, the great heart of this *people* always beats true.

I am much engaged just now, and with reverent and earnest thanks, I am yours truly, L. S. BECKER.

FROM JOHN WEISS.

WATERTOWN, May 7, 1869.

MY DEAR MRS. STONE: As I cannot be present at your meeting, I must send you a few words to assure you of my sympathy with the great movement for securing Suffrage for American women.

Elsewhere, and quite lately, I have made my statement and Confession of Faith upon this point; and my paper will appear in the June number of the *Radical*.

But I will say that the earnest women who are engaged in this reform have a harder work to do with their sisters in America than with the men. For it seems to me that Suffrage itself cannot obviate the necessity of bringing great classes of American women to perceive how their dignity and independence are involved in this power to throw a vote.

I look forward to a generous agitation, mainly sustained by women themselves, who best know how to appeal to their sisters, and who understand, far better than men, the pretexts for neutrality, and for the contempt which so many women lavish upon a privilege that would invest them with new influence, and protect the humblest in search of employment and of immunity from the avarice of employers.

This fashionable reluctance of the women must be assailed by all the arguments which the best instructed women possess; and may the truth prevail speedily in practice as in theory.

Truly yours, J. WEISS.

FROM ANN PRESTON, M.D.

1015 CHERRY ST., PHILA., May 11th, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: Accept my thanks for your kind invitation to be present at your meeting on the 12th inst.

My duties, at present, confine me to this city, but I sympathize with every true effort to extend and make practical the great axiom that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Because this doctrine is just and true, its application in the case of women must, it seems to me, tend to raise the standard of social and political life. There can be no antagonism in the real interests of man and woman and no progress for the one which is not elevating to the other.

It has been to me a matter of surprise to find the extent of the sympathy with this movement which prevails in very different social and religious circles; and the conviction seems wide-spread that the effect of acknowledging the equal political rights of the sexes, will be, upon men, refining, upon women expanding.

The *cause*, indeed, is rapidly onward, and the honest but timid conservative, we trust, shall soon perceive that the practical effect of the acknowledgment of Equal Rights will be, not to make noisy, obtrusive, disagreeable sisters and wives, but to develop a richer, more beautiful womanhood, to bless our common humanity.

Yours, very truly, ANN PRESTON.

FROM MRS. N. H. STURGEON.

ST. LOUIS, May 8th, 1869.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: I sincerely regret that it is not in my power to be present at the meeting of your Association to convene in New York city on Wednesday next. But I am happy to be able to report the most cheering progress of our cause in this state, during the year that has intervened since your last meeting. The Suffrage Association of this city has been consolidated and enlarged, and is working with ever increasing energy and enthusiasm, arresting the attention and enchaining the interest of the most earnest minds, and gradually but surely overcoming the prejudice, and winning patient consideration from the masses of the people. And while we cannot yet rejoice in the initiation of the direct measures, to secure our end, we do feel that we are gaining the ground from which, sooner even than we hope, we shall see our reform established. The agitation of this question, as a practical one, was entirely new in this community, and it was with the utmost surprise that our friends beheld our little band, clamoring for a hearing, and we have to thank them that they have accorded to us the respectful consideration, to which the disinterestedness of our convictions, and the earnestness of our faith entitled us, so that while in the beginning we were but a "little company of believers," like pebbles dropped in a stream, the circle has widened and widened, until at different times and upon various occasions many thousands of our citizens, heretofore totally indifferent, or violently hostile have come under the direct influence of our ideas, and when we have roused opposition it has been conducted in a spirit of magnanimity. To have won this ground in a community so recently under the domain of the ideals and standards of a form of society so alien to the theories we advocate, is to have gained much; enough to have marked the year with success. But we have done more than this. We have brought our project for reform before the State Legislature, obtaining, not only a respectful hearing in joint session, but a discussion on the floor, bringing out a number of eloquent and earnest advocates, and conciliating the kind feelings of many who were not prepared to give us direct support. We also obtained the signature to our petition for Suffrage of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the House, and other leading members of the state government as well as a large number of the Legislature. We have as yet formed no auxiliary societies, confining our efforts for the present to this city to influencing the Legislature, and, through correspondence, the various journals in the interior. But in inaugurating our plans for the next year, we are making provision for the extension of our organization to every county in the state, and hope by speakers and tracts to bring the subject to the attention of the entire community. I will also state that the Law department of the Washington University has admitted to its priviledges as a student a young lady of this city. The action of the board of trustees was unanimous, and as the gentlemen that composed it represent no special political party, or class of persons, their action is most suggestive and gratifying, and the ladies of our association are deeply sensible of their liberal action.

Our only organization in this state, the one from this city, will be present with you in the delegation we have sent to represent us, and will report the specific operations of the association.

But in closing, I think I may claim as the result of this association, and as the sum of the years operations, that this question, so vital to everything we hope for in the future, has been introduced into every class of society, been brought home to almost every mind and fireside. From having been esteemed as something belonging only to the region of theory and speculation, it has come to being talked of on the street corners, discussed in the beer saloons, agitated in the pulpit. Has entered our city Councils, the Legislature, the institutions of learning, been debated in the Academic, Medical and Law schools, and has even penetrated society in its most inaccessible fastnesses, making the topic of fashionable parlors and even mixing with the intricacies of the "German" in the most exclusive circles. And nothing has moved us so deeply, or surprised us so much, as to find, in all these places, so large a field open to earnest argument; and in spite of trifling and levity, how much earnest aspiration is just working to consciousness, just waiting to be kindled. You will pardon me that my enthusiasm flames as I contemplate this awakening and that I lengthened out my letter, to communicate if possible the vision.

With sincere respect and earnest wishes for a happy reunion among those so long bound together in so generous a cause, believe me, very truly your friend,

N. C. STURGEON,

Vice-President of Mo. Woman's Suffrage Association.

FROM WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, may 8, 1869.

MY DEAR FRIEND: As I do not expect to be in New York the coming anniversary week, instead of participating in the deliberations of The American Equal Rights Association at its annual meeting, I can only send you my testimony by letter. That testimony, however, is little needed in these days of comparative popularity of the Woman's Rights cause; as it was never withheld when the advocates of that cause were "few and far between," and they and it were objects of popular ridicule and opprobrium. We shall all stand fully vindicated in the end, no matter to what extent yet misunderstood or misrepresented.

Woman presents her claim for suffrage, Why should not her claim be granted? There are many reasons adduced, but they are all summed up in this one grave objection; because she is—a woman! But as that relates exclusively to sex, for which no one is responsible, which it is not possible or desirable to abolish, and to which inheres neither superiority nor inferiority in the matter of natural rights, common interests and duties, and personal responsibilities, the objection lies as heavily against man wielding the ballot as against woman. They were created equal, in the same divine image; they were designed for each other—to stand side by side in all the relations and liabilities of life—to take counsel together as equally concerned in whatever pertains to the general welfare; and neither can be elevated or depressed at the expense of the other, without injury to both. The only reason given why a man should be allowed to vote is, that he is a man. It is as conclusive that a woman should have the same right because she is a woman. She has as much at stake in the enactment and enforcement of laws, in the administration of government, in the well being and peace of the country, as man; therefore she should have the ballot. She is as capable of development and culture as man; she has the same right to personal protection, and the means to secure it, as man; like him, being taxed, she is entitled to representation; therefore she should have the ballot. If she is competent to be at the head of a post office, or a clerk in any of the departments of government, she is competent to vote, and to be voted for. If she is qualified to be a Queen in England, she is qualified to be a voter in America. If she is "Heaven's last, best gift to man," she has no less a right than himself to a voice and a vote in all human affairs. That right will be accorded to her at no distant day; and then it will be cause of wonder, that it was ever called in question, or so long unjustly withheld. The results of its exercise cannot

fail to be better legislation, more equitable laws, and a more tranquil and prosperous state of the country.

Yours, for the assertion of all human rights,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mrs. Lucy Stone.

UP BROADWAY.

BY ELEANOR KIRK.

CHAPTER XII.

[I HAVE been asked several times by those who have become interested in this story, how I dared trust the woman I was striving to assist, and if I felt no misgivings as to her ability to keep the promise she had made me. To all I would say that no doubt of her desire to lead a different life ever entered my head, from the first moment I laid my eyes on her face, and it would have made no difference in my endeavors had I been suspicious of failure. You who are sceptical in regard to the reformation of such, select a case and do your best with it, and if you do not discover a host of things to love and respect in the object of your solicitude, your experience will be vastly different from mine.]

I had left my friend comfortable and my next move was to purchase some plain, tasteful dresses for both mother and child, and prepare the latter for a good public school, which she was extremely anxious to attend. What with my own work and the delay of shopping, it was some three or four days before I found it convenient to call again. Early one morning I was surprised by a visit from my little protege.

"Why, Mary," said I, as the child ran into my room, "I am glad to see you, but what is the matter?"

The darling's eyes were red and swollen from weeping, and her whole manner gave evidence of great mental excitement.

"Oh," she answered, "mother is very sick, I don't know what ails her. She was all right till yesterday. See what she made for me out of one of the dresses you brought; don't it look nice?" and the little one displayed the neatly fitting calico with a pride which did my heart good to witness. "It is a long time since mother sewed a stitch for me. I hope these won't be the last," and, now, the poor overwrought child broke completely down.

"Tell me all about it dear, and then I will get ready and go home with you." After a little I listened to the following, which I will give in her own words as nearly as I can remember.

"I thought mother was going to be happy now, we had got things so nice, but she has looked sadder than ever, and I couldn't get her to talk much, but she kept to work until last night, and then, all of a sudden, fell over in her chair. Oh dear! I thought she was dying! I tried to lift her up, but she was too heavy. I bathed her face with cold water, and after a little she roused up and said: "Oh, Mary! Mary! you poor little outcast! if I die, promise me that you will find your father." "Oh, my dear Mrs. Kirk," and now the child's arms were around my neck. "I hope that God will forgive me for I was very wicked to my poor sick mother, but, when she said that—'*find my father*'—I thought I should have died for very madness. You see I always knew that I must have had a father; and I also knew that he wasn't dead, and from little things here and there, I got it into my head, that he left my mother because he got tired of her, or something else, and then to have her ask me to find him if she died was a little too much for this child, and I told her that I'd be torn into inch pieces first. Find a man who would leave his wife and child to starve!" and the dark eyes flashed forth a light which transformed the little one into an earnest, impassioned, determined woman.

"But child," said I, "you surely didn't say those bitter things to your mother, and she so sick, did you?"

"Yes, I did," she replied, dashing away the tears. "Yes, I did, and that's what I am sorry for, because I expect she didn't half know what she was talking about, and ever since she has kept straight at it. Her hands are hot as fire, and so is her head. I got old Mother Thurston to sit with her while I came over for you."

"Mary," said I, taking the child's trembling fingers in mine, "have you the least idea who your father is?"

"No ma'am," she replied; "and more than that, I don't want to have. It seems to me ma'am, and I can't get it out of my head, that he is the cause of all the dreadful trouble we have had, and I hate him! Won't you please to tell me what you think about it?"

"I know more perhaps about the circumstances than you do, my dear," I replied, striving to suppress all emotion, and impressed with the necessity of imparting some idea of the past to the little one. Ever since I had listened to the woman's sad story, a feeling of pity had stolen into my heart for the man who had wrought this great misery. I could not rid myself of it, nor, to save my life, bring myself to feel that he was as recklessly guilty as the facts seemed to warrant. That he loved the mother of this little one, I knew. From her own description I realized that the affection was not merely an animal or sensual one. It appeared to me that suffering from the effect of an unhappy marriage, with an aching heart and a hungry soul, he had met this beautiful girl, fallen desperately in love, and believed that, with his wondrous wealth, and the great love she felt for him, he could keep the matter of his first matrimonial experience secret. I realized too that it was a dastardly act for any one to be guilty of, but I pitied him nevertheless. So I said to the little one, scarcely conscious of the import of my words, "My dear, never let me hear you say again that you hate your father. I do not know who he is, or where he is, but I know he does not hate you, and I believe that had he known where to have found you all these years, you would not have been left to suffer so; and more than all, child, I am strongly led to believe that you will be very proud of him one of these days."

The child hung her head for a moment, and then replied, while her eyes twinkled with pleasure. "What a funny lady you are. I have got something in my pocket I want to show you. I wasn't going to, because I thought may be it would be doing mother a wrong. I can't read or write much, but mother cries over this every night; I've caught her at it lots of times."

I took the note, soiled with frequent usage, and read, while my heart almost stopped beating. It was simply an affectionate excuse for not returning at the promised time. It was signed "Your own Charles," and under this was written in the woman's own chirography "Alia ——— ———" a name with which I was almost as familiar as with my own. A name representing money, philanthropy, position, and all sorts of good things. A man of whom I had never heard the first whisper of evil.

(To be Continued.)

MISS ANTHONY AMONG THE BROKERS.

From the New York Sun.

"STRIKING" PRINCE ERIE.—SUSAN B. ANTHONY, OF THE REVOLUTION, BEARDS THE LION IN HIS DEN. — HALF PRICE TICKETS FOR WOMAN'S RIGHTS DELEGATES WANTED.—JAY GOULD SURRENDERS—PRINCE ERIE ENCOUNTERS AN AMAZON.—HIS OPINION OF THE REVOLUTION.

An odd building stands at the foot of Duane street, facing the North River. A legend is extant that the edifice was built in Paris in 1672, brought over the ocean in a huge balloon about 1820, and dropped at the foot of Duane street like a bag of ballast. Its architecture bears out this idea. The building is the headquarters of the Erie Railway Company. The second story forms the royal apartments of Prince Erie. The edifice is a combination of the ancient donjon and the modern soap factory.

ON THE TRAIL OF THE PRINCE.

Some few days ago, about 10 o'clock in the morning, a woman was seen rushing down Chambers street. She was dressed in a neatly-fitted black silk, that had been "turned" but once. A modest-looking bonnet, plainly trimmed, surmounted her chignon, which was about the size of a turnip. A pair of spectacles spanned the bridge of her nose, and she carried a plain parasol of black silk. Her features were regular though angular, and a sharp pair of gray eyes flashed through her spectacles. Drawing her dress slightly above her feet, she dexterously avoided the greasy barrels of pork, mackerel, and hams lining the lower end of Chambers street, turned to the right, walked one block up West street, and entered the iron grating at the entrance of the donjon.

A COURTIER MET.

At the foot of the stairs leading to the second story she met an Italian, swathed in snowy napkins, with a wisp-broom, comb and brush under his arm, and three bottles, containing borax, hair tonic, and bay rum, in his hands. A small paper of gold powder peeped from his vest pocket.

"Is Mr. Jay Gould within?" asked the lady of the Italian.

"He is—up stairs—turn to your right," replied the Italian.

"And who are you, pray?" continued the woman, as the Italian shuffled toward the door.

Here an Irishman, who was sitting on a rough bench near the door, cried out; "Beware, ma'am, of that man. He's only Prince Airy's barber, ma'am. A carridge from the Fifth avenue cum wud 'im!"

THE DEN OF THE LIONS.

Without replying, the lady mounted the stairs, turned to the right, and entered a small room, containing two mahogany desks and four chairs. Her feet melted into a rich green carpet, soft as thistle down. A dark-complexioned gentleman, with a pair of snapping ebony eyes and a jet-black moustache and flowing beard, occupied the desk to her left. He was dressed in exquisite taste, wore a silk tile, Mealio's make. A gentleman in shirt sleeves, velvet vest, and castor-colored pants was seated at the desk on her right. He wrote a round, bold hand very vigorously. Only the tip of a gold pen-holder could be seen above his chubby, dimpled hand. He was a portly gentleman, who had evidently seen no more than thirty-five summers. He had a florid complexion, soft blue eyes, dimples in his chin and cheeks, and curly auburn hair and moustache. A diamond, the size of a filbert, winked on his shirt bosom. He also wore a handsome tile.

BUSINESS.

Glancing at these two gentlemen, the lady drew a copy of THE REVOLUTION from her pocket and approached the dark-complexioned gentleman's desk.

"Is this Mr. Jay Gould?" she inquired.

The gentleman nodded assent. The lady then laid the copy of THE REVOLUTION on his desk, and said:

"I am one of the Editors of THE REVOLUTION, published in the Woman's Club House, 49 East Twenty-third street. The upholders of the Society for the advancement of the noble cause of Woman's Rights hold a Convention here this week. We know that you are the friend of every movement that tends to elevate and purify the morals of society. This is the greatest reform of the age. It throws into the shade the question of negro suffrage and the Young libel suit. I come to see if you would not reduce the rates of fare on the Erie road for those attending this Convention."

The gentleman in shirt-sleeves stopped his writin

and looked as if he had heard the rumbling of an earthquake. Mr. Jay Gould began a lively conversation with Miss Susan B. Anthony, for the lady was none other than she. The light-complexioned gentleman listened as if he doubted his ears, and fidgeted uneasily in his chair.

THE QUEEN OF THE STRONG-MINDED.

"So you are Miss Anthony of THE REVOLUTION?" inquired Mr. Gould.

"I am," replied Miss Anthony.

"Would it be ungallant for me to enquire who reports the Wall street gossip for THE REVOLUTION?" continued Mr. Gould.

"I cannot tell you," answered Susan. "Our reports have created a great sensation. The Wall street line is the only line in which we beat the New York *Sun*, and I believe that journal is a favorite with you gentlemen. I think you must acknowledge that the Wall street reports of THE REVOLUTION are always accurate."

Mr. Gould made no reply. The gentleman in shirt-sleeves could stand it no longer. He arose to his feet, walked to Mr. Gould's desk, looked Susan in the eye for fourteen seconds, and then strode back to his desk with a heavy step, and dropped in his cushioned chair.

"I know," said Susan, "that it must worry you gentlemen mightily to have the secrets of Wall street laid bare in THE REVOLUTION every week, but the fact of the matter is, gentlemen, that there is so much quarrelling in Wall street, and so many noses out of joint, that the jobbers are like a set of old women. They all tell stories about one another and THE REVOLUTION gets hold of these stories. But," she continued, turning to Mr. Gould, "how about reducing the fares for the delegates to the Woman's Rights Convention? I know you have a noble heart, a kind disposition, and a generous——"

"Oh, certainly," interrupted Mr. Gould, "we will reduce the fare."

Here the shirt-sleeved gentleman again jumped to his feet, and walked to Mr. Gould's desk, saying:

"Mr. Gould, I wish you would remember that THE REVOLUTION has done us more harm than have all the other New York journals put together."

Miss Anthony's gray eyes sought the mild blue eyes.

"Is this Prince Erie?" she smilingly inquired.

"I am Mr. Fisk, at your service, madam," replied the Prince, gallantly lifting his hat. "Are you the queen of the strong-minded?"

SUSAN GROWS MALICIOUS.

Susan blushed, pulled a hair out of her chin, fastened her eyes on the diamond filbert, and answered, "I am the managing editor of THE REVOLUTION, with three private secretaries, and I am glad—I may say, I rejoice—to hear that it has done you so much injury. It is a sure indication that it can do the Erie road as much good, when that road is put on a sound basis."

THE DEED DONE.

Here Prince Erie replaced his hat, and returned to his desk. Miss Anthony again began a low conversation with Mr. Gould, during which she twice dropped her check shawl which Mr. Gould twice politely raised from the floor, and hung upon her extended arm. In a few minutes Susan raised her parasol, sweetly smiled, said, "Good morning, gentlemen!" in a silvery tone of voice, and floated from the room.

The next number of THE REVOLUTION contained the glad announcement that those members of the Woman's Rights Convention coming to the city on the Erie road could procure return tickets free on application to Miss Anthony.

Hereafter we may expect silence from THE REVOLUTION regarding affairs on the Erie road.

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING.

A SWEDISH woman has written seventy-nine novels.

ONE of the results of Miss Anna Dickinson's teachings has appeared in Des Moines. A young woman has entered a tinner's shop as an apprentice.

MISS VIOLETTE COLVILLE is an American girl who is studying music in Paris, and Wartel, her instructor says, she will become a Malibran, and that he shall bring her out when she is eighteen.

REV. OLYMPIA BROWN is a descendant of General Putnam, the hero of the wolf story. No wonder she has so much pluck and energy.

A Swiss journal states that a young woman named Anna Arnold, sister of an innkeeper at Willisau (Lucerne) has just carried off the first prize at rifle-shooting competition of that town, having made a "white" with every shot.

A NUMBER of young ladies, pupils of the School of Design, Cooper Institute, accompanied by their teacher, Dr. Rimmer, visited Staten Island a few days ago, and after taking many sketches of the beautiful scenery of the island, returned to the city. Mrs. Clones of New Brighton entertained the visitors.

POOR Portland women who make clothing for New York houses get 25 cents apiece for woolen sack coats, from 12½ to 18 cents for pants, for ordinary overcoats, 40 cents, and for the heaviest and best made 60 to 75 cents. And they have, some of them, to support children on these beggarly wages. This is one of the arguments which no platitudes about "woman's proper sphere" can evade.

THERE is a lady in a Surrogate's office in a city in this state, who transacts the principal business in the office, and might, at any time, pass an examination in law, but cannot be admitted to the bar, I am told, because she is a woman. I do not know the position of the law in regard to lawyers, but presume this may be true. The presence of women as jurors and advocates could not but purify the court room. The unnecessary and indecent cross-questioning, now so common, would not be tolerated. Perhaps women would make severe judges, but they would not set aside decency and decorum.

ANNA T. RANDALL.

"COLONEL ANNE."—This lady was the daughter of Moorcauld and the wife of McIntosh, and she took the Stuart side in opposition to both spouse and sire. Colonel Anne rode in tartan trews, a military cap on her brow, sword at her side and pistols in her holsters. Three hundred gallant fellows followed her, and they all figured in the battle at Falkirk. It must have been a delicious sight for this virago (in the true and complimentary meaning of that word) to see her own husband brought in by her own men as a prisoner. They would have made capital actors. They only recognized one another officially. Colonel Anne touched her cap to the prisoner and saluted him with "Your servant, Captain!" Captain McIntosh saluted in the like manner, and returned, "Your servant, Colonel!" The "Colonel" and Captain, of course, dined together, as was usual in such circumstances. One may suppose that they had a merry night of it, if they only kept clear of politics, and passed the bottle as became true fellows in arms.—*The Braemer Highlands, by Elizabeth Taylor.*

A LADY LAWYER.—At a recent meeting of the Cecil County (Md.) School board, a scene occurred which shows the growing influences of women in public matters. The Commissioner from the Second District stated that one of the assistant teachers from his district, a Miss McKinsey, had been absent from her school three weeks, but claimed pay for the full term. Miss Martha Biddle, principal of the school, backed Miss McKinsey's claim, and had counsel to plead her case before the Board. She claimed that during her assistant's absence, to attend her mother during her illness, she, the principal, had by extra labor performed her duties so that the school had lost nothing. The Board heard the case and confirmed the District Commissioner's decision that the young lady's salary should not be paid for the time she was absent. Subsequently, Miss Biddle demanded a hearing, took the floor in behalf of her assistant, and by her vigorous presentation of her client's case, in the course of which she made some severe thrusts at the District Commissioner, she procured a reversal of the decision, and the allowance of full pay for her assistant.

A GENTLEMAN of fine literary culture, very well known in this city and the country at large, sends us the following appreciative notice of the lecture delivered a few evenings since by Mrs. Maria A. Stetson:

"Mrs. Stetson's unpretending, but deeply intelligen and sincere manner, manifest in her former lecture, called for a repetition. A large number of men of the ripest attainments, three or four prominent government officers, and others in high position as public instructors in the pulpit and lecture-room, were her auditors; some Senators even leaving their places at the Capitol to be present. The lecture was clear and logical in arrangement, well digested in discussion and illustration, sprightly with anecdotes, yet each to the point. The delivery was in a clear, well sustained and full voice; her emphasis gave each turn of thought its just weight; her action was graceful and dignified; and aside from a slight want of repose, a common fault, which time will soon correct, Mrs. Stetson commmended herself as one of the most instructive, pleasing, and impressive of lecturers, securing undivided attention during the entire hour. It will be a happy thing for us, as a great people, if, while the old code of laws as to Woman's appropriate control over her property is being corrected, and an independence of action essential to her usefulness as possessor of material wealth is afforded, the richness of female intellectual treasures are allowed to be brought from their napkin wrappings and made available for public utility. Men that are men will hail such aids as Mrs. Stetson in teaching and moulding young men; for the mild counsel of a matron-mother is mightier than the stern mandate of tutor or guardian.

PROFESSOR FOWLER'S LECTURES AND CLASSES.—Professor Fowler's course of eighty-four lectures, at the Odd Fellow's Hall, Temple street, upon human structure as exemplified by phrenology and physiology, will be brought to a close this evening, when there will be a public examination of ladies and gentlemen selected from among the audience. The course of lectures has been a very interesting one, and has been well patronised. Mrs. Fowler has also delivered twelve lectures to ladies on the laws of life and health, and these also have drawn large audiences. One of the most interesting gatherings took place yesterday afternoon, when the public were admitted to the final meeting of Mrs. Fowler's gymnastic class. About thirty young ladies, who have been under Mrs. Fowler's training for the past three months, went through a course of dumb-bell, wand, and other exercises, some of which were entirely new, to a pianoforte accompaniment. The course of calisthenic education had evidently produced a beneficial effect upon the deportment and gracefulness of nearly all the members of the class. At the close of the entertainment, Mrs. Fowler was presented by her pupils with two handsome bound volumes of Mrs. Jameson's "Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns," and "Masterpieces of Italian Art," as a token of respect and esteem. They were respectively inscribed, "Presented to Mrs. Lydia Fowler by her Birmingham gymnastic class, with their sincere thanks and regards, April 9, 1869.—*Birmingham (Eng.) Daily Post and Journal.*

A PRECEDENT FOR VINELAND.—The Salem (Mass.) *Gazette* reprints the following scrap of history from its files of October 27, 1797; "Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 18, Rights of women.—At the late election in this town, the females asserted the privilege granted them by the laws of this state, and gave in their votes for members to represent them in the state legislature."

SECRETARY SEWARD has been urged to improve his leisure by writing the records of his time, and a political history of the State of New York; but he says the only literary work he will perform is the preparation of something *in memoriam* of his deceased daughter, a woman of wonderful promise, who died last year.

WANTED—JUSTICE.—The Ohio Female College, at Cincinnati, is in trouble. A few days ago the teachers "struck" *for payment of arrearages, and thereupon the trustees dismissed them and employed others.* The pupils object to these changes, and are not inclined to smother their feelings.—*Phil. Star.*

THE Cleveland *Leader* tells us that Amy I. Falls, daughter of Col. Falls of the regular army, has been appointed postmistress of Vallejo, California, at a salary of $2,000 per annum, and adds, "Anna Dickinson ought to have ten per cent. commission on that salary."

THE Women's Temperance Committee of Dover, N. H., have passed a resolution that it is the duty of every woman "to abstain entirely from the use of wine and all other intoxicating liquors in culinary operations." Committees have also waited upon the pastors of the different churches and urged them not to use wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

WOMAN IN THE FROG FISHERY.—A St. Paul paper says: "Yesterday two young ladies from the country brought to market 30 dozen frogs which they slaughtered the previous day. They found ready sale, and were going off last evening rapidly at 15 cents per dozen. The frog trade seems to be on the increase decidedly, and several lots of these delicious 'fowl' have found sale recently in our city."

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, MAY 27, 1869.

To Subscribers.—How to Send Money.—For large sums, checks on New York banks or bankers, made payable *to the order of* Susan B. Anthony.

POST-OFFICE MONEY ORDERS

may be obtained at nearly every county seat, in all the cities, and in many of the large towns. We consider them perfectly safe, and the best means of remitting fifty dollars or less, as *thousands have been sent to us without any loss.*

REGISTERED LETTERS,

under the new system, which went into effect June 1st, are a very safe means of sending small sums of money where P. O. Money Orders cannot be easily obtained. *Observe, the Registry fee,* as well as postage, *must be paid in stamps* at the office where the letter is mailed, or it will be liable to be sent to the Dead Letter Office. *Buy and affix the stamp both for postage and registry, put in the money and seal the letter in the presence of the postmaster, and take his receipt for it.* Letters sent in this way to us are at our risk.

Bound Volume.—The Revolution, Volume 2, handsomely bound, for sale at this office. Price $5.

National Woman Suffrage Association.—It is with great pleasure that we announce that Anna E. Dickinson will deliver the inaugural address of the new National Woman's Suffrage movement at the Cooper Institute, to-morrow (Friday) evening, at 8 o'clock; also that Miss Dickinson consents to represent Pennsylvania in that Association as its Vice-President. The title of Anna Dickinson's lecture is "Nothing Unreasonable."

THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

As soon as by the war freedom was secured for the colored race, Mr. Garrison, feeling that his work as an abolitionist was done, retired from the Anti-Slavery Society to work thenceforward as a statesman on a broader plane. Mr. Phillips, declaring that freedom was a mockery without the ballot, felt that his work was not done until black *men* were secured in the right of Suffrage. As "negro suffrage" was the necessity of the great republican party, and their only political issue, to base himself on that narrow ground, reduced Mr. Phillips and his followers to a mere tail of the republican kite, and many of the abolitionists felt it so. As the same people were making the same arguments, in the same week, for black men and all women, many thought it desirable to merge the two associations in one, making the *Anti-Slavery Standard* the *National Standard* and demanding universal suffrage as the basis of reconstruction. This would have been a beautiful flowering out of the principles abolitionists had advocated for thirty years, but Mr. Phillips—who had been a leader of political thought for twenty years—opposed it. Up to that hour he had based all his arguments for freedom and suffrage on the broad ground of inalienable, individual, human rights; he then planted himself on the rights of races on the platform of the republican party, and threw overboard all the black women, 2,000,000 of his clients, leaving them with but a change of masters, still in a condition of slavery. As woman, under the slave system, had suffered a depth of degradation man could never know, so she needed the protection, the dignity, the safeguards of enfranchisement as man never could. Yet the republican party, in its Fourteenth Amendment, introduced the word "male" into the Federal constitution, where it never had been, expressly to throw out the black women of the south (so say those who were behind the scenes and heard the debates in the committees on the several joint resolutions presented to Congress at that time).

Wendell Phillips followed their lead. When the constitutional convention was called in New York, a resolution passed an Anti-Slavery convention that it was the duty of abolitionists to labor in this state to have the word "white" dropped from the constitution. A motion was made to amend, by adding the word "male." Mr. Phillips ruled it out of order on an Anti-Slavery platform, although there are many black women in this state who own property and pay taxes.

Woman thus ostracised in an Anti-Slavery convention, those abolitionists who saw the broader principle, or thought they did, joined the American Equal Rights Association. But the ideas of equality as between men and women differ so widely that there has been a continual struggle to make our Association reflect those of republicans and sectarian abolitionists, who see no urgent need of the political recognition of black women, nor of the white women of the south, who, by the chances of war and the disfranchisement of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, find themselves to-day under the heels of their former slaves, who are their legislators, judges and jurors; nor yet of the women of the north who, by this proposition of "manhood suffrage," are to be made the subjects of foreign rule and oppression.

The last straw was laid on the camel's back when Frederick Douglass rose in our convention in Steinway Hall with a series of resolutions, saying that our Association rejoiced in the passage and prospective adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. I am happy to say that there was too much pride, self-respect, and womanly dignity on that platform to rejoice that by the Fifteenth Amendment 15,000,000 women are placed, as John Stuart Mill says, "in a condition of helotage, which is more degrading than ever, because being now no longer shared by any of the male sex, it constitutes every woman the inferior of every man."

The women in that convention did not interpret the platform of the American Equal Rights Association to mean the establishment of an aristocracy of sex in this republic. How a man with a grain of sense, could propose such resolutions is the marvel. He must have supposed the women who gathered there either gods or fools, and intended them as lofty compliments, or supreme contempt. But as they were merely common-sense women, incapable of rising above all human considerations, or sinking below the ordinary plane of manhood, they felt towards the Fifteenth Amendment, which places all women under the heels of all men, precisely as Mr. Douglass would have felt had it proposed to enfranchise the men of all races but his own.

E. C. S.

All private letters for Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton should be directed to her residence, Cedar Hill, Tenafly P. O., New Jersey.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Concord, N. H., May 22, 1869.

Dear Revolution: Your types last week made me spell *Babylon* quite outside the popular usage and prejudice; and also they told of "loosing the lost seal," instead of the *last* seal, as was my intention. My own proof-reading is not the most perfect, and so I shall not complain of less experienced eyes.

Your Anniversary has awaked new earnestness and enthusiasm, even in New England. And what is better still, your movement is henceforth, until it be accomplished, the recognized leader of the hosts of progressive Reform. That is more than the battle half fought. Always, there is an advance guard. Until Fort Sumter, indeed until the Proclamation of Emancipation, Anti-Slavery held that ever grand and glorious position from 1831. When Suffrage shall know no distinction of sex nor complexion, some other wrong will assert its claim; and so, contest and conquest will still be the life-programme of the human race. And it is a long way yet, from here to the predicted millennium.

The New England newspaper press has recognized the new order of events in advance of some of even the chosen and elect abolitionists. So the Gentile world entered the kingdom and dispensation of the long looked-for Messiah, while the chosen race, of whom and to whom he came, children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, groped in darkness and unbelief. Among other journals that have spoken well and truly of your cause, and especially of your late anniversary, is the Worcester *Spy*, one of the best and ablest of the New England republican organs. Its able New York correspondent writes thus:

The most salient feature of "Anniversary week" was the meeting of the "Equal Rights Association," by which name the organized friends of Woman's Suffrage choose to be known. The association was in session two days, and though in one or two instances some confusion and disorder were created by the ignorance of parliamentary rules, no candid observer could fail to be impressed by the earnestness, the intelligence, and great ability that characterized the debates. And it is only simple justice to say that the confusion referred to was confined entirely to the masculine element of the meetings.

The great west was most worthily represented in these meetings in the person of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, of Chicago. She is an orator by a right divine, and few of our platform speakers of the sterner sex equal her in eloquence. Her voice is deep, rich and musical, and easily pervades every portion of our most spacious hall. Her manner is calm, unimpassioned, self-possessed, and womanly. She is a clear, logical, and convincing reasoner, is equally happy in description and narration; has enough of the poetical element in her to give rhythmic beauty to her diction, and an impressiveness and fervor of style which are evidently born of deep sincerity.

Mrs. Lucy Stone is so well known to your readers as a public speaker of rare ability, and still rarer discretion, that any description of her person or her oratory would be superfluous. In the "new dispensation," when women vote and hold office, it will be no bad thing if their respective states should confer senatorial dignities upon these two representatives of their sex.

Miss Olive Logan is a speaker of a different type. Her elocution indicates careful training, but there is a certain "stagey" flavor about it that still suggests the actress. Her voice is strong, sweet and penetrating, but lacking something in that earnestness which commands sympathy even where it does not carry conviction. Her manner is easy and graceful, and she smiles upon her audience in a very genial and sunshiny way, as if next to herself she liked them best of all the people in the world. Unquestionably a woman of decided talent, rare culture and earnest convictions, I predict that she will make her mark as a platform speaker, and come gradually into a more impressive utterance of herself as the sense of responsibility deepens with the deeper insight that comes with experience and years.

Miss Couzins, of St. Louis, a young lady of apparently twenty years, commanded considerable attention by her somewhat florid rhetoric. Her admirers call her "the Anna Dickinson of the west," which would be a very good description—with the Anna Dickinson left out. Her speeches were quite pretty, but did not amount to much. It would not be fair to invite her to tarry at Jericho till her beard be grown, for that would be equivalent to a perpetual banishment from our Jerusalem; but a few lessons in elocution, and a training that would give increased force and volume to her voice, would improve her chances of success as a platform speaker.

Of your third and last day's meeting in Brooklyn, the same writer thus speaks:

On Friday the association held its meeting in the Academy of Music, the most spacious and elegant public building in that city. The audience was large and select, and included not a few of the most eminent citizens of Brooklyn. Of the opening address of the president, the *Daily Union* of that city says: "Mrs. Wm. H. Burleigh's address in the afternoon, in which we feel, we confess, a strong local pride, was not only written with great beauty, but it showed a grasp of the subject, a clear insight, a critical discrimination, a sound sense and a mental maturity and courage, that are of themselves an unanswerable argument for the author's right to exercise those qualities in the performance of the duties of the citizen." And again: "Mrs. Harper's and Mrs. Burleigh's addresses were as good, and in some respects stronger than even Mr. Beecher's, which was the only one worth hearing made by any of the men." The evening meeting, however, was the great success of the week. It was a splendid sight, the beautiful auditorium of the Academy of Music packed in every part with an audience representing the wealth, the culture, and the Christianity of Brooklyn. No such meeting has been held in that city since the close of the war, and it was kept up till eleven o'clock with unabated interest. Among the speakers were Olive Logan, the venerable Lucretia Mott, Miss Couzins of St. Louis, Henry Ward Beecher (whose speech was all alive with the magnetism of his peculiar eloquence), Frederick Douglass, Lucy Stone, and others. In every aspect of it, the meeting was a grand success. I have no space for criticism of the speakers; but I am sure no one made a more favorable impression than Mrs. Harper, a colored woman, formerly of Baltimore. She was truly eloquent, and as sensible as she was eloquent. I have heard a great deal of really splendid oratory in my day, and among the best and most effective speeches I have listened to I must include this of Mrs. Harper.

I have not selected this Worcester correspondence as the best the New England press affords of report of your meetings, but rather as the worst. For instance, no mention is made of the two women to whom not that anniversary only, but the whole enterprise itself owes more than to any other human agency. The account given of Miss Phoebe Couzins, the young law student, of St. Louis, is wide enough from the compliment she received on Wednesday evening from one of the best audiences ever gathered in Steinway Hall; was certainly all that any young suitor for public favor as a platform speaker could desire. The riveted attention, interrupted only by occasional but enthusiastic applause, was more than assurance to the young western girl, standing for the first time before so proud a presence, in the metropolis of the greatest nation on the earth, that she has not mistaken her calling in aspiring to the most exalted position ever held by the sterner, if not the stronger sex.

Then to talk of such men as Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, Stephen S. Foster, Rev. Mr. Frothingham and Charles C. Burleigh as "the orators in trousers," as "old stagers," "inevitable speech-makers," "doing neither better nor worse this time than heretofore," is, to say the least, *in most questionable taste*, and indicates, on the part of the writer, anything but a friendly spirit towards the most important movement of the nineteenth century; a taste that might be greatly elevated by mingling in the more refined ranks of women's society.

You will be glad to hear that the friends of Woman's Suffrage are to take advantage of the meeting of the legislature of this state next month, to hold a Convention here at the Capital. Should it be as well attended and sustained as was the one here last winter, it may tend to convince the representatives from the various parts of New Hampshire that a new era has dawned which they will do well to recognize and provide for. New Hampshire granite is hard to work, and tries the temper of the most sublimated steel; and exhausts a great deal of it, too. But once beaten into form, it is good for all time, defying its sharpest tooth; most imperishable of all created elements except the human soul. A good proportion of their native hills and mountains is wrought into the character of the people. But perhaps no state better pays for work bestowed.

Politics are as unsettled as ever. The democrats are hibernating in their dens, and the republicans still carry on their internecine conflict in the issue of which humanity can have no interest except to wish a speedy and Kilkenny catastrophe to both belligerents. Never was there a more favorable opportunity to push both the demand for Woman's Suffrage, and also for new and better political organizations generally. Republicanism has become a stench in all healthy noses, but the old democracy is far too much decayed to find ligaments enough to tie its old bones together, even to rattle a *reveille* on its coffin lid. The living elements, in whose veins blood, or even sap circulates, whether democrats or republicans, are waiting impatiently a new and better resurrection; of course, always excepting the office-holders and the yelling, but more numerous brood, whose only paradise, prayed for, hoped for, is *a stanlia!* at the public crib.

Yours to speed the coming,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

ROBERT B. ROSEVELT.

THE *Herald* of May 18th contains a very touching letter from this gentleman to Mrs. Jennie June Croly, the President of the Sorosis, asking to be admitted to that society. Though his claims for admission are ably set forth, and he promises the ladies of the Sorosis that they shall be admitted in turn to all the clubs to which he belongs, the Yacht Club among the rest, Jennie promptly said No, as the motto of the Sorosis is "principles, not men." Now if all the beautiful principles the Sorosis loves and admires should chance to be incorporated in men, what then. Who would not rather worship at the shrine of a noble, living breathing man than at that of a cold, abstract principle.

Again, if the Sorosis is based upon principle, it should not place insurmountable qualifications in the way of any one desiring to be enrolled among its members. If Jennie had read that great speech of Senator Sumner's on "Equal Rights to all," she would have more thoroughly understood the tyranny and injustice of the Sorosis code. An educational or property qualification would do, because with industry and patience both can be acquired, but to lay a ban on sex is gross injustice, as that is a disability that cannot be overcome. Now when so many noble men are sharpening up their goose quills in the service of the "fair sex" all these invidious distinctions should be set aside. As an expression of our deep sympathy with Mr. Rosevelt, we invite him to call at the "Woman's Bureau" and enroll his name as a member of the "Woman's Suffrage Association." The discussions in this society might be even better than the Sorosis dinners in preparing him for his future duties as an American citizen.

E. C. S.

THE WORLD.

As all the world knows that the above journal is the chivalrous chronicler of what women are saying and doing in this eventful nineteenth century, we neglected to tell our readers that our reports of the Woman's Convention were copied mainly from the *World*. So that journal, which has a deep sense of justice, calls us to account for the omission. While we apologise for our seeming want of appreciation of its valuable services, we wish to thank it, as we have done before, for the aid and comfort it has given to the women of the republic, for the last four years. When republicans and abolitionists forsook us, then the *World* nobly came to our support. With the *Sun*, the *World* and THE REVOLUTION shining and revolving harmoniously together, the social, moral and political world will soon be based on laws as fixed as the solar system. Let all our friends who want a daily paper, to tell about Sorosis, Suffrage and Working Women's Associations, take the *World* or the *Sun*, as they keep a close watch on their fair countrywomen.

E. C. S.

THE WOMAN AND THE NEGRO.

THE enemies of Woman Suffrage have endeavored to make it appear that there is a conflict between the claims of Woman and the Negro to Suffrage.

Hostility to the colored man and to the Fifteenth Amendment has been openly charged upon the American Equal Rights Association at its recent Anniversary. To show how groundless is this charge, we publish the series of resolutions unanimously submitted by the Committee appointed by the Association, and adopted by the Convention on the afternoon of the second day. Each resolution was twice read and voted upon separately. We ask particular attention to the fourth resolution. If those who claim to be the peculiar friends of the colored man are not satisfied with it, we are at a loss to comprehend what will satisfy them.

First: Resolved, That the extension of suffrage to woman is essential to the public safety and to the establishment and permanence of free institutions; that the admission of woman to political recognition in our national reconstruction is as imperative as the admission of any particular class of men.

Second: Resolved, That as woman, in private life, in the partnership of marriage, is now the conservator of the private morals, so woman in public life, in the partnership of a Republican State, based upon Universal Suffrage, will become the conservator of the public morals.

Resolved, That the petitions of more than 200,000 women to Congress and to their State Legislature during the past Winter, asking expression of popular sympathy and approval, everywhere manifested throughout the land, ought to silence the cavil of our opponents that "Women do not want to vote."

Resolved, That while we heartily approve of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, extending suffrage to men, without distinction of race, we nevertheless feel profound regret that Congress has not submitted a parallel amendment for the enfranchisement of women.

Resolved, That any party professing to be democratic in spirit or republican in principle, which opposes or ignores the political rights of woman, is false to its professions, short-sighted in its policy, and unworthy of the confidence of the friends of impartial liberty.

Resolved, That we hail the report of the Joint Special Committee, just rendered to the Massachusetts Legislature, in favor of Woman Suffrage, as a fresh evidence o

the growth of public sentiment in our favor, and we earnestly hope that Massachusetts, by promptly submitting the question to a vote of her people, will maintain her historic pre-eminence in the cause of human liberty.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are due to the Hon. George W. Julian in the House of Representatives, and to the Hon. Henry Wilson and the Hon. S. C. Pomeroy in the Senate of the United States, for their recent active efforts to secure Suffrage for woman.

Resolved, That we recommend the men and women of every Ward, Town, County, and State, to form local Associations for creating and organizing Public Sentiment in favor of Suffrage for Woman, and to take every possible practical means to effect her enfranchisement."

Now then, let every friend of Equal Rights put shoulder to the wheel. Lay aside collateral questions. Disregard side issues. Commend Woman Suffrage upon its merits, to the minds and hearts and consciences of the Nation. And God speed the Right!

GERMAN ADVOCATES OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

As the German papers of this country, which are hostile to the woman's cause, state wrongly that the Germans of New York city did not participate in the late Anniversary, we take special pleasure in recording the very earnest and active support they gave to it. The list of Delegates to the Convention which was read by Mrs. M. F. Davis on the second day, contained the names of the German ladies and gentlemen as delegates of the German Printing Association, about to publish in this city a new Weekly, named the *New Era*, especially devoted to the advocacy of Woman's Rights. Of these, Mrs. Mathilde Wendt, Mrs. A. Lilienthal, Mr. J. Schoenhof, Dr. A. Douai and Dr. E. W. Hoeber attended the Convention during the three day's session continually and several other delegates were there at intervals.

A resolution in favor of reforms for the working classes of both sexes was introduced by Mr. J. Schoenhof and warmly and earnestly supported by Dr. Hoeber, and finally referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The loud and enthusiastic applause which Madam Anneke's German speech in the Cooper Institute met with, was an unmistakable proof of a large German attendance. Miss Anthony read the prospectus of the new German Weekly to which are attached, besides many of the best German names of this city, the names of Mrs. C. B. Wilbour, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, Mrs. Mary Kyle Dallas, Mrs. Abby H. Gibbons, Mrs. Henry Peter J. Gray and Mrs. Mary F. Davis.

The prospectus shows the Association to be incorporated according to the laws of the State of New York, and alludes to the fact of their being only two German papers in the United States which advocate Woman's Rights, and states further, that it is a well-known fact that the Germans in the United States are, more than any other component part of our Republic, averse to granting the Right of Suffrage to woman. The Bill for Woman's Suffrage in Missouri failed, because all the Germans voted against it. Under these circumstances it is evident that a paper, such as proposed, is essential to the ultimate success of the cause, because necessary to propagate our ideas and win adherants among the Germans. As, for the reasons stated, it will be impossible to collect the whole amount requisite for the enterprise among the Germans, all sympathizers are called upon to further this project.

The shares, being only $5.00 each, we trust that our friends will give their liberal support towards the establishment of this paper, which has *our* warmest wishes for success. Communications and contributions may be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. E. W. Hoeber 276 West 38th street.

It seems to be high time that the nation that has taken so often the lead in moral ideas, should wake up to the full consciousness of the *right* and *necessity* of giving to woman her *natural rights*.

FARMING FOR WOMEN.—At the annual meeting of the Northwestern Dairymen's Association held in Elgin, Ill., on the 9th and 10th of February, Hon. K. A. Willard of Herkimer Co., N. Y., made an address of marked ability from which we extract the following:

Mr. Willard said he did not mean to advocate female field labor, such as is known among the lower classes in Europe, nor would he abridge one iota any female accomplishment; but he could see no objection to any man's daughter or sister taking her seat occasionally on the mowing machine, the hay tender, the wheel rake, the sulky plow or cultivator, or in the direction of some light farm machinery, where she can gain strength and health in the open air. He was confident women enjoy such things, and are much happier, stronger and better, if they are taught that such work is not unwomanly, and the knowledge gained would be of immense service in after life, in assisting the father, brother or husband with suggestion and advice. In their education we do not give our girls a fair chance in the race of life. The majority of American boys and girls do not like to make a choice of farming as a livelihood. The farmer's educated daughters of to-day prefer the town or city, and have little sympathy for the farm, and if they marry a farmer, often urge him to abandon the business for something more genteel. In England they have better tastes, where their women have more fondness for country life than ours. A well-bred English woman seems to take pride in the knowledge of business suitable to her station. Lady Pigott, the wife of Sir Robert Pigott, has one of the most noted herds of short-horns in England. She has made it both a source of profit and reputation. A high-bred American woman can hardly understand such a taste, and regards it with intolerable disgust. He did not care to discuss this question. He only asked that farmers try in some way to make farming pleasant and interesting to wives and daughters, that the farm may have their sympathy and influence, for without such help it is hard to make farming successful.

INTERESTING TO LADIES.—It is now more than nine years since I purchased a Grover & Baker Sewing Machine. It has been in constant use for my family sewing ever since, and has done *several thousand dollars worth* of work on heavy woolens beside. It has never been out of order, nor cost me one cent for repairs since it became a "member of our family." We consider it truly "*our household friend.*"—*Mrs. Wm. H. Skelmire, No. 726 N. Sixteenth street, Philadelphia.*

RELIGION OF HUMANITY.—Mr. Henry Edger, American Member of the Positive Council, Paris, will lecture at Plimpton Hall, corner of Stuyvesant and Ninth streets, near Third Avenue, on Sunday morning, May 30, at eleven o'clock. Subject: "*Woman's Share in the Social Reconstruction.*"

ANNA E. DICKINSON.—We can promise Miss Dickinson's many admirers that her lecture, tomorrow (Friday) night at Cooper Institute, if "NOTHING UNREASONABLE" will surely be SOMETHING NEW.

AN ENERGETIC GIRL.—Miss Emily Peers has put the typographical knowledge which she acquired in the *World* office to such excellent use that she is now forewoman of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, and also of the *Woman's Advocate* monthly magazine.—*World.*

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Organized at the Woman's Suffrage Reception at the Woman's Bureau, 49 East 23d street, May 15th, 1869.

ARTICLE I.

This organization shall be called the National Woman's Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II.

Its object shall be to secure the Ballot to the women of the nation on equal terms with men.

ARTICLE III.

Any citizen of the United States favoring this object, shall, by the payment of the sum of one dollar annually into the treasury, be considered a member of the Association; and no other shall be entitled to vote in its deliberations.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice-President from each of the states and territories, Corresponding-Secretary, Recording-Secretary, Treasurer, an Executive Committee of not less than five nor more than nine members, and an Advisory Committee consisting of one person from each state and territory.

ARTICLE V.

Any Woman's Suffrage Association, may become auxiliary to this National Association by making an annual contribution of not less than $25. The officers of each auxiliary shall be ex-officio members of the parent Association, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transactions of its business.

AN interesting meeting of Sorosis was held at Delmonico's on Monday, May 17th, at which the question of Foundling Hospitals was discused. Mrs. Dr. Anna Densmore read a report on the subject, and Mrs. Wilbour stated that a lady had just purchased 400 acres of land near New York, where she proposed to found a home for children, 100 of whom are to be under one year of age. Their plan does not embrace the system of wet-nursing but of feeding on cow's milk, and no provision is made for lying-in women.

Mrs. Rose said she would advocate the Foundling Hospital with all her heart and soul, but she thought prevention was better than cure. The evil would never be remedied until men were punished as well as women. Women were ostracised, deprived of every hope for the future, while man, the enticer, seducer, the perpetrator of the crime, held up his head as high as ever, and was to be met the same as before in the church, the state, and worse yet, in the drawing-room. Foundling Hospitals, under present conditions, were a necessity, but she was afraid they would tend to increase crime, and that it would be well at the same time to endeavor to have such laws passed as would serve as a check, and render the punishment of the man equal to that of the woman.

Mrs. Davis disagreed with Mrs. Rose in the opinion that foundling hospitals would increase the number of unhappy births. She thought existence a fact we were bound to accept, and life a gift, of which, if necessary, we should be taught the value.

Mrs. Oliver Johnson desired to say a few words in relation to Mrs. Rose's suggestion of stringent legal measures for the suppression of the crime of seduction. She thonght these would be of little use, unless sustained by public opinion. Women ought to try and create such a public opinion, and mete out to men the same measure of justice and retribution as fell upon women.

The following resolution was proposed and adopted:

"Resolved, That as an evidence of our appreciation and admiration, and as an acknowledgment of the courage and humanity of which her whole sex may well be proud, Sorosis present to Miss Ida Lewis a testimonial, accompanied by a letter expressive of its sentiments."

A Committee consisting of Mrs. Croly, Mrs. Agnes Noble, and Miss Millard was appointed to carry the resolution into execution.

MAN'S RIGHTS AND WOMAN'S WRONGS.—The New Albany *Commercial* gives the details of a horrible case of maltreatment. A man has been in the habit of amusing himself by beating and choking his wife, knocking her down with his revolver, pinching pieces of flesh out of her body, and threatening to shoot her if she made any noise. He has been married twice before, and it is his

mored that one of his wives died from the effects of ill treatment. The exasperated neighbors attempted to secure the wretch, but he managed to elude them and escape.

THE *Tribune* for May 6th has the following:

The respective duties of Man and Woman have hitherto been assigned them by the tacit but earnest concurrence of the two sexes in the belief that it was best for both that Woman should rule and manage within the sphere of her own household, and Man in the wider but not higher sphere indicated by the trite but expressive phrase "all out-doors." We consider this a judicious and mutually advantageous arrangement—we believe a great majority of both Men and Women think so; if they do not now, or the time shall ever come when they do not, then there will inevitably be a change. Until then, we do not believe there will or ought to be such change.

"Tacit and earnest concurrence of both sexes," indeed! Ah, *Tribune*, you have hammered away at that nail long enough—and you ought to know by this time that something is seriously amiss with either carpenter or tools, else it would have struck home long ago. For the sake of a little variety, if not for a principle, let us have cahange of base. Will the *Tribune* favor us with statistics in reference to the number of women possessing homes? Is this aged and time-shackled sheet aware that the women, compelled to go out of the "sphere of their own households" into the restricted paths of out-door labor, is almost equal to that of men? Did it ever hear that parents die, and that husbands are sometimes forced to submit to the hand of the destroyer? and that both fathers and husbands are known to have played false—and deserted those dependent on their bounty—leaving delicately nurtured wives and daughters minus the "sphere of their own households?" It strikes us that such reports have been wafted to our ears—both concerning death and disgrace. The *Tribune* surely knows that there are old maids all over the world as well as in New York city, having been brought to celibacy both on account of disinclination and because the right man never asked them to wed—and it also knows that these old maids have to step outside the sphere of their own households to earn for themselves comfortable livings. Ah, friend *Tribune*, the wheel, it seems to us, has turned almost around, and we can congratulate ourselves in having Heaven's help at last. There is nothing surer. When he sees that the women have pretty nearly effected their object—when there only remains one obstruction to the last hitch—and every other man in the country is a little backward in coming forward, the veteran will turn his pleasant face toward us, and with a little of the magnanimity displayed in the case of poor Jeff, kick away the last stone from the vestibule of Woman's Suffrage.

E. K.

Hot biscuit, muffins, waffles, bread, etc., may be eaten hot with impunity by invalids and dyspeptics! if made with Hosford's self-raising bread preparation. Prepared under direction of Professor E. N. Horsford, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. It restores to fine flour the phosphates which are removed with the bran. It agrees alike with infants and strong men. Send for the printed opinions of Baron Liebig, of Germany; Prof. Doremus, of N. Y.; Dr. C. T. Jackson, of Mass., State Chemist, and others. Wilson, Lockwood, Everett & Co., 201 Fulton street, N. Y., general agents.

Swallow it down, dear public. Scatter it to the four ends of earth, oh REVOLUTION. But common sense and the laws of nature repel the quack fallacy, while the bitter experience of millions of stomachs, utterly wrecked and ruined, could write a book of lamentation and warning against hot bread and superfine flour, not equalled by anything written in sacred or profane history. Can "Hosford's Self-raising Bread Preparation" change the relation of heat to the vital structure of a man's stomach? Verily not. Heat will continue to relax and weaken the muscular tissue of all stomachs just the same, in despite of Hosford's great discovery, while it must deaden the vital susceptibility of the mucuous surface as it has always done ever since Prometheus stole fire from heaven to cook his food. Oh, Prof. Hosford, have you not yet learned the simple lesson, that the human system cannot and does not use any chemical substance, only as it is arranged by nature in vegetable structure?

The declarations of all the chemists in the world cannot compel nature to reverse her laws and submit to a chemical phosphated food, when she has prepared a better food. If God had intended man to live on chemicals, He would not have taken the trouble to create vegetable products for his use. Human stomachs need *revolutionizing*, as well as human physiology, but neither will be accomplished until people learn that there is no *chemistry* in the vital processes. People need to have their stomachs born again as well as their souls. A new-born soul tied to an old, degenerate, depraved stomach will have a tough time of it to keep in the narrow way. If people would only pray for their stomachs occasionally, and then act consistently, and keep all insulting substances and influence out of them, there would be fewer selfish, ill-natured christians. Hell is full of dyspeptics, and dyspeptics are full of hell. When good christians learn that there is an intimate relation and sympathy existing between the mucuous surface of a man's stomach and his soul, they will take more care of their stomachs, and by so doing they may improve men rapidly in many of the christian graces—virtue and patience for instance. Please don't, oh REVOLUTION, insult the intelligence of your readers, by putting such nonsensical and deceptive advertisements under their noses often. I would have passed this over in peace but my sympathy for human stomachs urges me to protest.

Yours for health reform,

THOS. W. ORGAN, M.D.

FOURTH OF JULY.

NEW YORK, May 14th, 1869.

Editors of the Revolution:

I WOULD propose that the address of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton before the American Equal Rights Association, of 12th of this month, be read on next 4th of July in every town in the United States.

See "The Fourth of July" over initials E. C. S, page 314 REVOLUTION of 20th inst.

LIBERTY.

NEW YORK, May 20th, 1869.

Editors of the Revolution:

A newspaper of this city (the New York Evening *Express*) chronicled lately that the women were demanding to go to theatres, etc., alone in the evening, and wanted to know, in seeming horror, what they would ask next? Will you not tell that newspaper that multitudes of women, by reason of being plain-looking, are never asked to go to a theatre by a man? Are they, therefore, to be kept from going? I therefore say, whenever a woman feels like going to a theatre, and no one offers to go with her let her don her "hat" and go on her own book.

EQUITY.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF THE CONVENTION.

WE have our doubts whether the ladies of the Equal Rights Association cherish a very warm appreciation of Miss Olive Logan as a recruit to their ranks. In her speech the other night at their anniversary she spared neither women with short skirts nor men with long hair. But she struck boldly at one social wrong which women are fitter than men to reform, and to which Miss Anthony and her associates have been too much occupied, we fear, with the harder side of life to give a proper share of their attention. "I can advise no honorable, self-respecting woman," said Miss Logan, "to turn to the stage, with the demoralizing influences which seem to be growing stronger there day by day—where the greatest rewards are won by a set of brazen-faced, clog-dancing creatures, with dyed yellow hair and paddled limbs, who have come here from across the ocean. Modest and virtuous women are driven from the stage by the licentious fever for nudity which rages in our theatres." This denunciation is tolerably sweeping, and, of course, there are many exceptions to its application. There are bright ornaments to the dramatic profession now, as there always have been; but Miss Logan is right in the spirit of her remarks, and we think it was quite time that the little army of women who aim at the abolition of social and political wrongs turned their batteries against this horrible evil, which is degrading a noble calling and corrupting society. It is cheerful to see a woman of Miss Logan's stamp, young and elegant, and the centre of an admiring circle, doing battle so bravely for so good a cause. The dirty drama makes more sin and misery than low wages and unfair discriminations of sex. Women ought to be much more concerned about domestic purity than the right of suffrage, and will do a better deed by looking after the morals of the young than by getting themselves into Congress or the Common Council. The loose drama can be reformed by woman, we believe, and by her alone. Let the priestesses of fashion put the wild license of opera bouffe and the orgies of the leg drama under the ban, and such performances will soon be swept from the theatres. It may be said that if respectability holds aloof, a lower class of sensualists will rush in, and the plays get worse instead of better. But experienced managers will tell us how mistaken is this fear. The bulk of our places of amusement must depend upon the respectable classes for support. The feverish passions of the viler sort of men are hard to satisfy, and their patronage is always an unstable dependence. The theatre offers a grand field for the exercise of woman's reforming abilities, and she can exercise them so easily that we shall be surprised if Miss Logan's hint is not taken.—*Tribune.*

It is our opinion that Olive, in her new enthusiasm for a comparatively new cause, has forgotten to be just, or to look into the root of the business. She, by personal experience, must more perfectly understand the demoralizing influences of the stage than we who never find time from our laborious duties to attend public entertainments. Regard, however, for the honest, pains-taking actresses at present engaged in legitimate drama, whose characters are above reproach—and pity for the poor ballet girls, who, to gratify the licentious taste of the public for opera bouffe, are compelled to dye their hair yellow—and pad their poor, emaciated limbs—should, we think, lead our worthy friend Olive to take a slightly different view of the case. So long as so-called respectable, aristocratic and Christian members of society will insist upon being amused by such nude exhibitions, just so long will girls be found weak enough and hungry enough to pad, dye, and be brazen.

The women, as is evident from the proceedings of the Equal Rights Association, do not favor the proposed fifteenth amendment, nor are they in love with the negro. Indeed, Mrs. Paulina W. Davis shows that the negro women have little reason to be devoted to the negro men. She says that the blacks abuse and whip their wives in the south and steal their wives' earnings, and she stated that "one of her sister's servants whipped his wife regularly every Sunday." And it is for these black brutes that the country has been torn and the constitution has been patched!—*World.*

Don't get excited, friend *World*. The women

gave freely of their husbands, fathers, and brothers for the abolition of slavery, and they are now unanimous in declaring it eminently just and proper for the white woman, after her tremendously long exercise of self-abnegation, after her devotion to the cause which deprived her of love and protection, to demand for herself the ballot before any more amendments are taken into serious consideration.

Woman in Congress assembled yesterday got the better of man. The fact is portentious. We men are very fond of believing ourselves infallible, and stating that woman, as a debator and a legislator, is a failure. But, evidently, if we judge by the report of the meeting of the Equal Rights Association yesterday, in which a certain Mr. Foster and Miss Susan B. Anthony had a little tiff, it would seem that woman was every bit as good as average man, in this matter, at all events. In the short and spicy debate which was held between the two, Miss Anthony came out victorious, and, as the reporter says, "gave a few *squelchers* to Mr. Foster."—*Jersey City News.*

That's what's the matter! Men have so long believed themselves infallible, so long supposed that logic and common sense were only possessed by the masculine gender, that we do not wonder at the *News's* surprise in discovering that in debate woman could take her own part. While you have been quarrelling in regard to the feasibility of the franchise for the long-neglected sex, women have been thinking, and thinking to advantage! Consequently, they bring some brains to the tussle.

What the Anti-Slavery Society used to be, the Equal Rights Association is hereafter to become—the most radical, aggressive, agitating of our Reform organizations. Its members came boldly to the front yesterday, laid down a sufficiently emphatic platform, had their full share of angry dissensions, and some of the best speeches that have thus far mitigated the rhetorical terrors of the average Anniversary Week. Mr. Frothingham made a sugestive hint about efforts to limit the suffrage rather than extend it, which drew out general disapproval. Mrs. Stanton made a strong and eloquent address, and got afterward sharply taken to task for lack of enthusiasm in the matter of Negro Suffrage. Miss Anthony had her turn in getting rapped over the knuckles, and even the gorgeous Train was spoken of disrespectfully.—*Tribune.*

We congratulate ourselves upon being able to take an occasional rap over the knuckles with almost saint-like equanimity. This is emphatically the woman's hour, and we intend to improve it.

The Leavenworth *Bulletin* says:

Women, in fact, carry into the Senate the ideas of the tea-table. It is not with them, what is practicable, what is expedient, what is possible, but what is right according to their preconceived notions. Guided by this sentiment, women would, if they had the power, introduce arbitrary laws governing the private life of the citizen. Under their rule, all liquor selling, all prejudicial amusements, and all vice would be made the subject of legislation, and the system would only at length break down from the absolute impossibility of enforcing the laws. We have nothing to say against Female Suffrage, if such a thing is seriously desired by a majority of the sex, which we very much doubt, but we have an objection to hearing women discuss questions which they seem to know nothing about.

The brain never suffers from Hyson or Oolong as it does from whiskey, and our worst enemies cannot accuse us of mounting the platform in a drunkard's condition as hosts of you men do every day of your lives. It *is* with us, "what is right," and, according to our "preconceived notions." Heaven knows we have had time enough to reflect, and we are fully prepared now to vindicate the right. Liquor selling and all vice *will* be made the subject of legislation, just as soon as we find the ballot within our grasp. Yes, sir! we know how women have suffered through all time from drunken husbands and fathers, and that shall be our first look out.

A Woman on the Tribune.—Will you give an opportunity, through your columns, to a woman, to say a word in self-defence?

I write to you instead of to Horace Greeley, because the chances are ten to one that he would throw my letter, unread, into the rubbish basket; whereas, through you I may compel him to hear.

I have always entertained a profound respect for Mr. Greeley, and have been accustomed for years to receive with thoughtful consideration the views which he has put before us in the *Tribune.*

The reading of that sheet has done more to educate me in politics, and to enlarge my ideas generally, than any other reading that has fallen in my way.

If to-day, I claim to have a sufficient intelligent comprehension of national affairs to warrant my belief that were the ballot in my hands it would be cast on the side of truth and honor, and I will add, of common sense, I owe it greatly to the New York *Tribune*, and I am very sure that there are many women who would unite with me in this statement. If I have outgrown my teacher, is it my fault? If I venture to differ from Mr. Greeley on the subject of free trade; if, after many years of hesitation, I have come to the conviction that spite of long established custom and prejudice, a woman has a right to do everything which God has fitted her to do, is this any reason why Mr. Greeley should turn the cannon of the *Tribune* against me? Yet no one can read the petty editorials which come out whenever the "Woman question" is uppermost, and deny that such is the case.

A crazy woman intrudes herself on the Brooklyn meeting of the Woman's Rights Association, and refusing to yield to persuasion, is about to be dealt with as we are compelled to deal with crazy people, when the audience interferes and foolishly insists on letting her tongue loose.

This unpleasant occurrence, distressing enough of itself, gives the *Tribune* occasion to say that henceforth there can be no doubt as to the ability of the sex to maintain its honor "in the roughest of rough-and-tumble mass meetings." I leave it with the large and respectable audience who filled the Brooklyn Academy during the greater portion of Friday to decide whether there was anything about the proceedings meriting the appellation of "rough and tumble."

Fair criticism is good and wholesome for every cause; but it is time the world learned there was no logic in a sneer. From too many of our public journals, I regret to say, this is the kind of logic most frequently to be expected; but on the part of a paper like the *Tribune*, which has fought its right to existence through the bitterest prejudices and the most unreasoning sneers, it is peculiarly unworthy.

Horace Greeley, like many another champion of reform, has helped to start a movement of which he was very far from foreseeing the issue. Mr. Gladstone does not or will not see that the disestablishment of the Irish Church is but the prelude to disestablishment everywhere. In like manner Horace Greeley does not nor will not see that Universal Suffrage is not universal, though the black man *is* in, so long as woman stands without. Very respectfully yours,

—*Brooklyn Union.* Julia A. Shearman.

Mr. Greeley is all right, Julia. The only trouble with him is, that he has outgrown all his clothes—even to that useful and much-talked-of white coat; and he is only waiting now to be sure of good material and a good fit; a suit that will last him until he is ready to step over to the great other side; and while deliberating it is not wonderful that he should quarrel with his tailors! Some day, you will see the genial Horace rigged out in a bran new suit of Woman's Suffrage cloth. A man or woman never feels comfortable within a pinched garment.

The anniversaries are in full blast now. Some of the smaller furnaces have burnt out with their annual reports, and, indeed, these lesser gatherings have been quite lost during the week in larger and more important meetings, such as those of the Anti-Slavery Society and the American Equal Rights Association. This last assembled a great array of really distinguished and respectable people of both sexes. Steinway Hall was thronged. There were fewer of the lank, long-haired, long-legged disciples, and more earnest, real flesh and blood men and women than such occasions have assembled in the past few years. This is well. We give the best of everything to the anniversary people, and they ought to give us the best speakers they can furnish and the best audiences they can assemble. "The Universal Peace Union" is one of the last of the associations yet to assemble, and when it meets in Dodworth Hall tomorrow it is to be hoped that it will express something stronger than the mere platitude "let us have peace."—*World.*

Yes, sir; we do congratulate ourselves upon the accession of a host of real flesh and blood men and women to the cause of Woman's Suffrage. The *World* must be fastidious, indeed, if the array of talent upon the Equal Rights platform of last week did not satisfy it.

In a long and spicily written editorial, the *Metropolitan Record* pitches into us. Its very ingenuity has kept us good natured. If the writer be not a lawyer, then he has mistaken his calling, and we advise him, without further preparation, to enter upon the legal practice. We give all we have space for:

But the strange part of the proceedings was the attack made by Miss Anthony on woman in general. No man ever so slandered and villified the sex as this redoubtable champion of Woman's Rights; no man ever accused them of being, in the mass, without honor or self-respect, faith, truth or feeling, selling themselves, body and soul, for a beggar's pittance, binding themselves to any one for a consideration. "Women all over the land," said Miss Anthony, "marry men, for whom they feel no love or respect, merely for the want of food." And, strangest thing of all, this remark elicited no token of disapprobation; there was no storm of hisses, as when Mr. Blackwell referred disparagingly to the test-oath down south. It was endorsed by all present, for silence gives consent. And yet, to such women, so morally low and degraded, we are called upon to give the Suffrage. Out upon the idea of making voters of such a mercenary sex! If they sell themselves for food, will they not sell their votes for money? But, say these logical ladies, these women will purify politics. True, they desecrate the "holiest relations" of life, but they are "the noblest type of womanhood in the world." Their home-life has been a living lie, but their public life will be a personification of all the virtues. They will bring men up to their level; they will—— Why, dear ladies of The Revolution, we have reached that point already. There are at this present moment, "all over the land, men compelled to cheat and pilfer merely for the want of food. Men who would be honest if they were rich; who would not stumble if there was not a pebble in their path; men who would not be guilty of malfeasance but for necessity—the deplorable necessity that compels women to perjure themselves. Why has not society the right feeling for these poor victims of circumstances, these male martyrs of impecuniosity? Why don't we coddle them into virtue? Ah! "man's inhumanity to man"—that's what's the matter.

Now, even at the risk of being considered old fogyish—that modern bugaboo—even at the risk of being asked a second time by The Revolution "what school we were brought up in, and what church we attend," we will venture to hint that there is a stronger safeguard for virtue in woman and honesty in man than a plethoric pocket-book—an old-fashioned one, it is true, and one that has stood the strain of centuries, but fit for use and good as new still. But not only do we deny the cogency of Miss Anthony's argument, but we discredit her assertion. If we did not, we would agree with Mr. Frothingham in regretting that though "slavery is abolished, sex is not."

The endeavors of Susan B. Anthony all these years has been to talk women into such thorough education as shall preclude all necessity of marying for a maintenance; and that she has succeeded gloriously is evident from the wonderful rousing of the whole population to the importance of trades and professions. There will probably be a few voters among the millions of our sex who will sell their votes for money. Meanness is not an especial attribute of either sex, and we are not foolish enough to suppose that the ballot will make a small person large, or a dishonest one conscientious.

Susan B. Anthony.—A warm admirer and compatriot of this lady sends us the following tribute. We judge Miss Anthony fully able to take her own part and hold it, but are quite willing to give a hearing to those who differ from us. Her compatriot says:

"Noble, virtuous, honorable women are a country's greatest wealth, and when, from petty envy or jealousy, any one attempts to blacken a fair name—as Stephen Foster did in the late Woman's Convention—that has long stood before the nation representing a principle, with private inuendoes in public assaults, it is an injury not only to the individual but to the moral sense of the nation, and all true people are interested in maintaining its integrity and power. Susan B. Anthony has stood before this nation twenty years, earnestly devoted to every good work. As a teacher in the schools of New York for fifteen years, she bears from Superintendents the highest testimonials to her faithfulness and ability. Her noble labors in the temperance cause are known throughout the State, and in association with the true men and women who fought the Anti-Slavery battle, she was equally faithful and earnest, finishing her work by getting up a petition for the black man's freedom of 300,000 names—the largest ever presented in Congress. For woman's enfranchisement her labors have been unremitting and unwearied for the last eighteen years. She is a frank, generous, self-sacrificing woman, of a kind, tender nature, firm principle, great executive ability, and in every relation in life as true as the needle to the pole. With the good Abbe de Lammenair, her motto has ever been, "Let the weal and woe of Humanity be everything to me; their praise and their blame of no effect."

You are right, *Tribune*. Susan feels herself perfectly able to take her own part, and hold it; and more now than ever, as new recruits and sympathizers are marching boldly in to the ranks. No man or woman ever, attempted to work *pro bono publico*—without public assault from private enemies—not even Mr. Greeley; and if he, the living exponent of the next to the greatest principle ever inaugurated, so much longer at work than ourselves—must bow his head to occasional slander and misrepresentation, we, who have the greatest good and the most glorious of all earthly ideas at heart—namely, Woman's Suffrage—need not be annoyed.

THE NEW YORK EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION.—The second day's proceedings of the Equal Rights Convention in New York were even more disorderly than those of the first day. The report of the proceedings given by telegraph may be so gross a misrepresentation as to be a caricature. Doubtless some disorder occurred—enough, perhaps, for a foundation to a sensational fiction to divert the mass of readers.

Even if the confusion and bad manners of the assembly (mostly women) were as represented, they were probably no worse than in any popular convention of that magnitude (1,000 persons) when the "gag rule" is not applied. We notice the absence of the "gag" at the Equal Rights Convention. Order in political conventions is insured by a rule always adopted at the outset, by which all resolutions are referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

But for this, nearly every convention not under the despotism of one or a clique of persons, would break up in uncontrollable confusion. At the New York Convention there were many persons with special ideas; as, for example, one (Miss Anthony) thinking that a plank should be adopted on capital and labor; another (Mrs. Batchelder, of Boston), anxious for a plank demanding equal pay with men for equal service; a third (Mrs. Livermore, of Chicago; Lucy Stone and Mrs. Hanaford) desiring a protest to be inserted that the women engaged in the movement are not Free Lovers; a fourth (Fred. Douglass) anxious for a plank calling for a constitutional amendment striking out the word "white;" another (Mrs. Stanton) holding the Convention to have been called for the promotion of Woman's Suffrage alone; and so on too tedious to mention.

Under such circumstances there is no hope of order without the ablest chairman that ever was, not even then without the "gag rule," nor no possibility of concluding much business without the limit of speeches to ten or fifteen minutes.

Freedom being a hobby with all Radicals, they despise the "gag rule," and disorder necessarily follows when many men, and more especially women, of many minds are convened.

As to the Free Love protest, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose hurled back the insinuation with contempt, but did not deem it dignified to formally declare that the women engaged in the movement were not virtuous.

We say this much in apology for the convention, as a matter of simple justice. The character of the reports and the sensation headlines prefixed are calculated to do the cause undeserved injury.—*Cincinnati Times.*

We think the amount of good accomplished by the Equal Rights Convention in this city incalculable. No such audience ever before assembled to listen to the principles so long and faithfully promulgated, There was a little disorder, some rudeness, a taste of disgusting officiousness, but in each instance, and we can prove what we say, this discourteousness emanated from our gentlemen friends. The women, from a lack of proper discipline, were, the least bit in the world, unparliamenta y, but that was all. We shall be able to manipulate all the wires before long, and what a merry tune we will jingle when we pull the last wire of Woman Suffrage.

Again we must accord to women the benefit of Mr. Combe's distinction between *training* and *teaching*. It is certain, that on the platform, lawyers behave a great deal better than ministers. They are not so easily provoked: do not become so personal; and carry themselves with more dignity in debate. Yet in all of these things, ministers are as well taught as lawyers. But speaking from the pulpit with no one to call them to account, ministers do not get *trained* to self control in debate. But the whole business of a lawyer is a training for this self government. Women have just come on to the platform. Of course, *training* for debate—that training which brings self-control, and the faculty to speak to the point—cannot be hers. To expect her at this stage of her public career, to behave as well as lawyers and politicians (when sober, we mean,) is unjust.

May we add, that in what we have thus written, we are not so blinded as to imagine we are getting the good will of those whose errors of feeling and judgment we have sought to explain. We are fully persuaded that any word in this direction will give offence, in that it will be construed into an apology by those who feel it a humiliation to be regarded as in a position calling for apology. And we are not able to conceive it possible to put our real thoughts into words which the parties most interested will not scout as presuming and patronizing. If any other motive than a simple wish to write in the interests of truth and justice has actuated us, it puzzles us to conceive what that motive is.—*Metropolitan Record.*

That's right *Mr. Record!* Talk it up that way. Just give woman a chance. Folks don't differ so much after all in their opinions when they come to understand each other. Don't worry about motives. Just be sincere in the expression of your real, genuine sentiments. Give all their due, and speak your mind. Agitation is the thing.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.—The convention held in this city, last week, by the Equal Rights Association, was largely attended, and comprised an imposing representation of the talent, public spirit, and moral purpose of the various sections of the country. It showed, very clearly, that the great principle of impartial suffrage, independent of race, sex, or color, is rapidly advancing in the favor of the people, and especially that application of the principle which admits women to a participation in the franchise. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Miss Anthony, Miss Couzins, of St. Louis; Rev. A. B. Blackwell, Mrs. Livermore, Miss Olive Logan, and others. Letters, expressing a warm sympathy with the objects of the association were received from John Stuart Mill, Jules Favre, Goldwin Smith, A. Bronson Alcott, Grace Greenwood, and other distinguished persons. Mrs. Stanton, president of the association, occupied the chair, and conducted the proceedings with admirable tact and success. With the exception of the disturbance made by a few negrophilistic boors of the masculine gender, the conduct of the body would reflect credit on any cultivated, earnest, and enthusiastic assemblage in Christendom. Mrs. Stanton's address was one of the most notable features of the occasion, being, indeed, a masterpiece of dignified, impassioned oratory, broad, statesmanlike views, noble sentiment, and powerful argument. We make a few extracts from it, referring to the question of the adoption of the sixteenth amendment of the Constitution, proposed in Congress by Hon. George W. Julian, and extending the franchise to women.—*Home Journal.*

PETERS'S MUSICAL MONTHLY. J. L. Peters, 198 Broadway, New York. Three dollars per annum. Single copies 30 cents.

ANOTHER WORKING WOMAN'S CONVENTION was held in Boston on the 20th inst. It had, like the first convention, as its central idea, the provision of homes for working women, though the matter of wages now paid to women, of course, came in for a full share of attention. The establishment of industrial homes for women in the country was advocated. Several western women in the audience, called upon the working women to leave Boston and go West, where starvation is impossible.

A YOUNG lady possessing good health, fluent command of language, great concentrativeness, strong intellect, retentive memory, industry that never tires, a good education, and a high ambition to distinguish herself as a lawyer, and who has the means of support whilst pursuing her legal studies, can learn of a rare opportunity for receiving first-class but gratuitous instruction by applying to Miss Anthony, REVOLUTION office, Woman's Bureau, 493 East 23rd St., N. Y.

No argument can be adduced to show a man's right to vote that does not apply equally well to a woman's right to vote. Men do not vote because they are men, but because they are human, responsible beings. So, all women, and all the reasons which hold in one case, clinch also in the other. * * * Give the woman the ballot, and the colored man will in no other way so quickly get his just rights.—Frederick Douglass.

WOMAN is courted and wedded as an angel, and yet denied the dignity of a rational and moral being ever after. If woman's mental characteristics are essentially the same as man's, the same reasons which uphold universal suffrage for the male sex must extend it also to the female.

There would seem to be no escape from the claims of woman to fill the rights of citizenship, whether she is considered as possessing the same nature with man, or one peculiar and different. In the one case, she can claim to exercise the elective franchise of common right, and in the other from a peculiar necessity.—Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of New York.

THE question of the rights of suffrage for women is easy of solution. I look upon it merely in the light of right. Why have woman any less right to vote than men? I can see no sufficient answer.—Hon. S. E. Sewall, Boston.

A BIT OF JUSTICE.—The Pittsburg *Republic* reports the following: "A West Virginia sheriff commends himself to the females of his county by ordering his deputies to except the property of widows in making tax levies."

LITERARY.

THE JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. Vol 3. No. 1. St. Louis, Mo.: E. P. Gray, F. Roeslin. New York: John Wiley & Son. Contents: 1. New Exposition of the Science of Knowledge, by Fichte. 2. Benard's Analysis of Hegel's Æsthetics (Poetry). 3. The Sentence of Porphyry the Philosopher. 4. Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment." 5. Leebnitz on Platonic Enthusiasm, 6. A National Institute. 7. Winckelmann's Description of the Apollo Belvedere. The price of each number is fifty cents.

LEISURE HOURS. A Monthly Magazine devoted to History, Biography, Poetry, Wit, Romance, Reality, etc. Pittsburg, Pa.: O'Dwyer & Co., publishers. Two dollars a year.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York. Albany: Van Benthuysen & Sons. 1869. A handsome volume of 308 pages, embodying a great amount of information on the subject of Education. A most thrilling chapter is that on "The Condition of the Outcast Children of the City of New York," by Oliver Dyer.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Woman's Prison Association of New York. The Isaac T. Hopper Home, 191 Tenth Avenue, incorporated in 1845. New York: Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, 113 Fulton street.

MRS. PETTIGRU KING, daughter of the late James L. Pettigru, of Charleston, and authoress of "Busy Moments of an Idle Woman," "Lily," and other novels, has been appointed a clerk in the Post Office Department at Washington.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Spring trade of 1869, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Financial Department.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 21.

MONEY AND VALUE.

SOCIETY is now in a transition state as regards money, consequently there is a confusion in the minds of most people as to what money is, and should be. Nearly all words are used in a variety of senses, according to the "stand point" of the user, and the first step therefore in consideration of any question, is a definition of terms. In barbarous periods, money has always been a commodity of some sort, valued by the people because of its rarity or for some real or fancied advantages possessed by it. As people become civilized and exchanges increase, it is found inconvenient to use a commodity of any sort, and a representative is substituted, usually in the form of a promise or order to pay, written on paper. When this is in the form of bank bills, it is popularly spoken of as money. When it is made a legal tender, it is a substitute for money and performs all the functions of money. Hence it comes to be regarded as such, although it is not purely and simply money, because it recognizes some commodity (gold or silver) as the ultimate money which it promises, but always falsely, to pay. Money, in a civilized community, should be purely representative, not of any one kind of commodity, but of that which creates all commodities, and is the real thing exchanged in all buying and selling, namely, labor. In order to exchange products, the first step is to determine values, so that the exchange may be equitable. Value has almost as many shades of meaning as there are men and women, and this question of equitable money is constantly confused by the want of a definition of *value*. The commercial or exchangeable value of a thing does not depend upon its use or necessity, because those things which have the utmost use and are of the first necessity have no exchangeable value, and this is the more evident the more indespensible the thing is.

The air we breathe is of incalculable value; for without it we cannot live five minutes, the mysterious magnetism which underlies all life, is still more so, for without it is death, yet no one pretends to give these exchangeable value.

What really constitutes and measures the equitable value for exchange of any product is the average amount of intelligently applied labor which it costs to produce it. The real unit of the measure or standard of value is therefore in the last analysis, a given portion of time applied to production.

The only reason for using gold as a standard of value, then, would be, that it costs a very invariable amount of human labor to produce it. It should always be borne in mind, that the real thing exchanged is labor, hour for hour. That is the best money which most facilitates this exchange and does not, like gold and silver money or bank bills, enable the shrewd financier and the middle man, and speculators of all sorts, to get days of the labor of others in exchange for hours or minutes of their own, their own labor being devoted mainly to the baneful business of setting others to work productively while they enjoy a large share of the products. Money should, as directly as possible, represent labor, and as a conseqence, enable the laborer to exchange the products of his labor equitably for the products of other men's labor. To do this, it is neither necessary nor desirable that money should be convertible into any one kind of merchandise. What is required is, that it shall buy all and every kind of merchandise, gold and silver, when desired, as well as other more necessary and more universally sought for products. The money question is sometimes still further confused by bringing in foreign nations and our need of paying what we owe them, in what they are willing to take. The simple truth is, that the real business is the exchange of our products for their's, and all civilized foreign nations prefer something else to gold, and for the most part, our cotton corn, dairy products and other useful articles pay for the commodities (many of them worse than useless) which we import. We produce gold largely, and it is quite as proper to export it as cotton, and sending it abroad, were it, as we hope it soon will be, demonetised, would not disturb finances more than the export of any other article. "Other nations do not ask about our laws or our customs" or care for our money, "but what is the weight and fineness of the coins" or bullion "we offer for their commodities," just as they look at the quality of the cotton, wheat or cheese we send them. The money of this nation is for its own use, not for exportation, any more than the railroads we build to serve as instruments of exchange in their way.

Let us agree, then, to call money, that which represents and is the title to a definite, ascertained amount of labor or its products, and let us not confound commodities with the means by which we estimate and exchange them; to do so is to fail to distinguish between the cloth and the yard-stick.

F. S. C.

THE MONEY MARKET

closed easy on Saturday at 6 to 7 per cent. on call, and prime business notes were discounted at 7 to 8 per cent. The weekly bank statement is favorable, showing an increase in the legal reserve without proportionate expansion.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	May 15.	May 22.		Differences.
Loans,	$269,498,897	$270,275,952	Inc.	$777,055
Specie,	13,374,769	15,429,404	Inc.	54,935
Circulation,	33,977,794	33,927,386	Dec.	50,408
Deposits,	199,392,449	199,414,869	Inc.	22,420
Legal-tenders,	56,501,356	57,838,298	Inc.	1,336,942

THE GOLD MARKET

was active and and advanced during the week, with wide and frequent fluctuations.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing
Monday, May 17,	141½	142	140⅞	141⅝
Tuesday, 18,	141⅞	142⅛	141⅜	142
Wednesday, 19,	142	143⅛	141¾	143⅜
Thursday, 20,	143⅜	144⅞	143⅝	143⅞
Friday, 21,	143⅛	143⅜	141⅜	141¾
Sat'day, 22,	140⅞	141¾	140⅝	141⅜

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was firmer at the close of the week, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills being quoted 109⅜ to 109½, and sight 110⅜.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was buoyant and active throughout the week with the exception of Pacific Mail which broke down to 85⅛ ex-dividend, equal to 88⅛ dividend on.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 30 to 30¼; W., F. & Co. Ex., 33 to 33⅛; American, 40 to 40½; Adams, 60¾ to 61¼; United States, 66 to 66¼; Mert's. Union, 15 to 15¼; Quicksilver, 20¼ to 20⅜; Canton, 62½ to 63½; Pacific Mail, 85½ to 85⅝; W. U. Telegraph, 43⅜ to 43¾; N. Y. Central, 192¼ to 192½; Erie, 28½ to 28¾; Erie preferred, 51¼ to 52; Hudson River, 163¼ to 163½; Reading, 99⅜ to 99½; Tol Wabash & W. 76½ to77; Tol., Wabash & W. pref., 81 to 82; Mil. & St. Paul, 76¼ to 76½; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 86¼ to 86½; Fort Wayne, 157½ to 158; Ohio & Miss., 35¾ to 36; Michigan Central, 128 to 130; Michigan Southern, 106½ to 106¾; Illinois Central, 147 to 148; Cleve. & Pitts., 94¼ to 94½; Lake Shore, 106¼ to 106½; Rock Island, 126½ to 126⅝; Northwestern, 91⅝ to 91¾; Northwestern preferred 104½ to 104¾; Mariposa, 23½ to 23¾; Mariposa pref. 50½ to 50¾.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were active and buoyant in the early part of the week, and quiet and steady at the close of Saturday.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 107½ to 107¾; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 122¼ to 122½; United States sixes, coupon, 122¼ to 123; United States five-twenties, registered, 117 to 117¼; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 122¾ to 123; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 117 to 117½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 119 to 119½; United States five-twenties, coupon new, 1865, 120 to 120½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, 120 to 129½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1868, 120 to 120½; United States ten-forties, registered, 108¾ to 109; United States ten-forties, coupon, 109¾ to 110.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were $1,857,149 in gold against $2,589,597, $2,593,026 and $2,241,519 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were $7,074,090 in gold against $5,589,324, $7,672,849, and $9,703,952 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were $3,871,328 in currency against $4,622,424, $2,809,834, and $4,471,695 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were $232,258 against $622,236, $,425,890 and $569,289 for the preceding weeks.

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